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East Asia

Southeast Asia

7 AUGUST 1987

EAST ASIA SOUTHEAST ASIA

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LAOS

HUNGARIAN TRAINED DOCTOR, LUANG PRABANG ATMOSPHERICS NOTED

Bangkok KHAO PHISET in Thai 6-12 May 87 pp 49, 50

[Unattributed report: "Songkhran Parade To Foster Peace: No Cancer in Luang Prabang or Vientiane"]

[Text] Dr Thongphot, the doctor from the Luang Prabang Hospital who escorted us, is a young man who recently completed his medical studies in Hungary.

"I studied there for 6 years. When I arrived there, I first had to study the language for 1 year. Their socialist country is much more advanced than ours." He talked about his life in Budapest after being selected to study there. He was very different from the nurses in Vientiane and Luang Prabang who had escorted us. They seemed much more tense than the doctor.

The Luang Prabang hospital is a long, dull-colored building with 200 beds and 40-50 doctors. Most of the patients there are suffering from diseases transmitted by mosquitos, particularly malaria.

"No one here is being treated for cancer or venereal disease," said the doctor.

All of the Thai who visited Laos this time knew that prostitution is strictly prohibited there. Even though some people thought that they were being approached by a prostitute, no one dared do anything, because the law is very strict. That is, offenders, both women and men, are banished to a remote islet in the Nam Ngoum Dam.

"Children have common colds and coughs. There have been few cases of child malnutrition since the revolution 12 years ago."

"What is done to treat the hill tribes," we asked. We had seen many hill tribesmen come to see the Songkhran parade.

"They frequently come to see a doctor. And we send cadres to treat them free of charge. We provide a variety of services. In particular, we vaccinate the children."

The doctor said that the day that he left for medical training, he was very happy. He boarded a German airplane at Vientiane instead of in Bangkok as people had to do in the past. Dr Thongphot speaks the Thai language fluently.

He resembles a Thai of Chinese ancestry. He knows about "Mr Michai" and said that birth control is not yet being practiced in Laos. People can have as many children as they want.

"There are still many oldfashioned doctors here," said the doctor when we asked about medicinal herbs. And a question that we could not help asking was, "Are you married?"

"Not yet," he replied seriously. "I had a very beautiful girlfriend in Hungary," he said and then showed us a picture. "She is very beautiful," we all agreed.

"I also know a girl who is studying nursing in Vientiane. But Thai girls are very beautiful," said the doctor pointing to a group of Thai dancers, most of whom were students.

"How much is your monthly salary?" asked one of our group.

"People are paid according to their duties. But everyone earns enough to live on. We don't have any problems. It isn't necessary to hold a second job. We don't have to open a clinic at our home, because here, the state provides free medical treatment. If a person is seriously ill and we don't have the proper equipment in Luang Prabang, we send the patient to Vientiane."

Dr Thongphot has a motorcycle. Everywhere we went, people frequently came up to say hello to him. Most of these were former patients of his. He wore a beautiful necklace made of Luang Prabang gold, which is darker than Thai gold. It is said that the gold there is purer than the gold in Thailand, where merchants like to add other elements in order to make a profit. In Luang Prabang, 15 grams of gold cost 4,000 baht.

The doctor also had a good camera. But he said that film was much more expensive than in Thailand. One roll of film costs 2,000 kip, or approximately 150 baht. "Film is expensive because it is considered to be a luxury," interjected a plainclothes policeman when we asked the doctor why film was so expensive.

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BORDER RESIDENTS CROSS TO THAILAND FOR BUDDHIST FETE

Bangkok DAO SIAM in Thai 26 May 87 pp 7, 10, 12

[Unattributed report: "Lao Residents Lack Temples, Cross Mekong River To Participate in Merit-Making Activities on Thai Side"]

[Text] On Wisakha Bucha Day, the Thai-Lao border in Ubon Ratchathani Province was very festive. Lao residents, who lack psychological support, crossed the Mekong River and asked to be allowed to offer gifts to the Buddha image on the Thai side. The district officer of Khemmarat District made an effort to facilitate things in order to promote closer friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

Mr Thanom Songsoem, the district officer in Khemmarat District, Ubon Ratchathani Province, talked about relations between Thai and Lao in this area. He said that at present, relations between the people's of the two countries here are very good. In particular, in trying to earn Buddhist merit, people frequently travel back and forth. This is because the district has a very sacred Buddha image, that is, the Phra Chao Yai Ong Du image at the Phra To Temple in Ban Pak Saeng, Na Waeng Subdistrict, Khemmarat District. Before Laos changed its administrative system, every year at merit-making time in March, many Lao used to cross to the Thai side to worship here.

The same was true this year, except that very few Lao came. On Wisakha Bucha Day, Lao residents from several villages crossed the Mekong River to worship here and make offerings. This provides them with a psychological support. An average of at least 250 Lao attended the ceremonies each day. Khemmarat District made special arrangements to facilitate their participation in this fete.

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THAILAND

SAKTHIP COMMENTS ON U.S. COPYRIGHT, TRADE STRATEGY

Bangkok NABO NA in Thai 24 May 87 p 7

[Article by Prasong Thanasetthakon and interview with Sakthip Krairuk, the ambassador assigned to the ministry who is responsible for American affairs; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] The draft act to revise the 1978 Copyright Law, which was approved by the cabinet during the Prem 4 administration, is waiting to be placed on the agenda of parliament. MPs must first approve this in principle during the first reading before the second and third readings.

If this is approved by the majority of MPs at all three readings, it will then be sent to the Senate for consideration. In actual practice, all such draft acts, particularly those submitted by the government, are certain to be approved by the Senate. After that, it will be submitted to the king for signing and then published in the government gazette. It will then be law. That is the end of the process in revising this law.

Stated simply, this draft act to revise the 1978 Copyright Law is a government draft act. There are many steps left, as outlined above, before this becomes law. There is much opposition to this, particularly from well-known MPs of the Democrat Party. This is the case even though this is a large government party that holds more ministerial portfolios than any other political party. From the standpoint of "political courtesy," the question is whether the Democrat Party is acting properly. Because the fact is, this draft act has been discussed prior to this. It is not a secret. Moreover, prior to each cabinet meeting, each of the ministers, including the ministers from the Democrat Party, the leader of which is Mr Phichai Rattakun, who is a deputy prime minister, is informed of the agenda for the meeting.

If the MPs from the Democrat Party oppose revising this law, why didn't they voice their opposition earlier and raise this matter at a party meeting in order to issue a "party resolution" and have Democrat MPs oppose this at the cabinet meeting? If they had done this, we would not be criticizing these Democrat MPs for voicing opposition now. Not only would we not criticize them, but we would praise them for standing on the side of the people.

But they did not do that. Furthermore, Democrat ministers, including Mr Phichai Rattakun, the party leader, supported this draft act, with the result that it was issued as a "cabinet resolution." And some Democrat MPs have opposed this draft act even though they have lacked factual data. For example, Mr Surin Phitsuwan, a Democrat MP from Nakhon Sithammarat Province and the secretary to the Speaker of the House, said that the ratification of the Thai-U.S. Treaty of Amity and Economic Relations was a very important matter. It was this that has made it necessary to take action and draft this act to revise the 1978 Copyright Law. This will go into effect when the Thai parliament ratifies it. But parliament hasn't ratified it yet.

But actually, "by royal command, whereas Article 14 of the Thai-U.S. Treaty of Amity and Economic Relations, which was signed in Bangkok on 29 May 1966, states that this treaty will go into effect 1 month after it is ratified by the two countries and that this treaty replaces the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Sea Traffic signed in Bangkok on 13 November 1937 and whereas this treaty was ratified by the two countries in Washington on 8 May 1968, this bilateral treaty took effect 1 month after it was ratified by the two countries. Announced on 2 July 1968, the 23d year of the present reign. Signed: Field Marshal Thanom Kittikhachon, prime minister."

We admit that this draft act to revise the Copyright Law is harmful to certain of the country's interests. But it benefits the owners of goods, goods that are not ours. Is it proper for us to take something that doesn't belong to us without informing the owner? Is it right to teach our children to steal?

Delving even deeper, we have confidence in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We are sure that this was considered very carefully by qualified people before the decision was made to accede to the request of the United States and draft this act. We are sure that they weighed the costs and benefits to the country. We trust that valid reasons were given to the cabinet, which resulted in the cabinet approving this. The cabinet and Prime Minister Prem certainly considered this matter very carefully before approving this draft act. Because this concerns the fate of the Prem 5 administration, which will come to an abrupt end if this draft act is not passed by parliament. For these reasons, we have supported this draft act since the very beginning. We have been alone in this.

In order to increase support for this draft act, NABO NA invited Mr Sakthip Krairuk, the ambassador assigned to the ministry, who is responsible for American affairs and who is directly involved in this matter, to be the guest of NABO NA last Friday afternoon.

Ambassador Sakthip clearly stated that this draft act will protect only literary works and artistic goods. "Literary works refers to all types of books, including translations and textbooks. We talked with the Ministry of Education about this and were told that this would have little impact as far as textbooks are concerned. This will affect less than 1 percent of the textbooks currently in use here. Artistic goods refers to movies, videos, and music. Besides the fact that such goods are relatively unimportant to most Thai, in actual practice, many movies and video tapes enter Thailand via

Canada and so we are already paying copyright fees. Thailand and Canada are both members of the Berne Convention and so we must abide by this treaty."

[Question] There is still much confusion about whether this will include patents on drugs and computers. What is the truth about this?

[Answer] The United States has asked that drug and computer patents be included. But we have refused. We have told them that our country is still very poor. If we have to pay a patent fee on drugs, this will cause problems for the people in this country, which is a developing country. The United States understands and has agreed to waive drug patents. As for computers, we have told them that computers are scientific goods and as such are not included in the protocol of the Berne Convention. And so the United States has agreed to waive this.

[Question] What items have they asked us to include?

[Answer] They have made requests concerning more than 10 types of goods. For example, they have asked Thailand to lower the tariff on wheat and to grant a permit for the automatic import of soybeans. They have asked us to lower the tariff on soybean oil and other goods, such as fruit and equipment used in exploring for ore. They want us to open up our cigarette market and to become a member of GATT's Tariff Assessment Committee. They have asked us to simplify food and drug registration. They want us to protect intellectual property with respect to copyrights and drug patents and so on.

[Question] In short, what have we agreed to give to the United States?

[Answer] We have considered all of the requests made by the United States and have decided to grant three of these. These three will not hurt our interests very much, and this will be worth it in terms of what we will gain. As I mentioned earlier, this draft act will protect the intellectual property of the United States with respect to literary works and artistic goods only.

We will also revise our trademark law to increase the penalties and protect rights better. The government began taking action on this even before the United States made its request. But when the United States made its request, we agreed in return for other agreements. We have also told the United States that we will revise the measures on the import of soybeans. We will shift from a quota system to an import tariff system.

Actually, this soybean issue benefits us more than it does them. It's true that the United States asked us to change from a quota system to a tariff system. They want us to set a low import duty on soybeans. But how much is actually collected is up to us. If we want to, we can set a low tariff rate. But if we want to control the amount brought in, we can set the rate very high.

In making these three concessions, Thailand has not been put at the disadvantage. We have done this in order to retain our special customs rights, or GSP. Stated simply, the GSP resulted in the value of Thai exports to the

United States last year reaching 41,403.3 million baht. Thailand's trade surplus with the United States was 7,074.5 million baht.

This does not include the various protectionist measures implemented by the United States in order to deal with trade partners that have the advantage over the United States. For example, Resolution 301 gives the president certain powers, and he used these powers against Japan. As a result, many Asian countries, particularly the ASEAN countries, have revised their copyright laws for the United States. Only Thailand hasn't done this yet.

[Question] If we don't revise this law as the United States wants, what will the consequences be?

[Answer] First of all, we will lose our special rights under the GSP system. Also, this might affect the export of other types of goods. If this happens, it will generate dissatisfaction among Thai in general and create internal political pressures. This will affect Thai-U.S. relations on other fronts. Thus, Thailand should act in accord with the cabinet resolution, which approves revising the 1978 Copyright Law, in order to use this as a bargaining chip to prevent Thailand's GSP rights from being cut and to give Thailand more time. Because at present, the economic and political pressures for trade protectionism in the United States are very strong. These pressures in the United States will probably subside somewhat next year, because the U.S. trade deficit will decline. Also, the focus of U.S. politics will shift to the presidential election in 1988.

But even if we don't revise this law as they want, sooner or later, they will obtain protection. By next year at the latest. Because last year, President Reagan stated that the United States will join the Berne Convention. Normally, it takes 2 years to become a member. When that happens, besides the fact that we won't get anything, we will be placed at a great disadvantage. Who will take responsibility?

Biography

Ambassador Sakthip Krairuk is the eldest son of Mr Phunphoen and Mrs Kunthi Krairuk. He is 40 years old. He was born on 5 September 1947. He attended the Wachirawut Witthayalai School and completed high school at the Webb School in California. He earned his bachelor's degree in international politics from Boston University, the same university attended by Phong Sarasin, the deputy prime minister, and Asa Sarasin, the Thai ambassador to the United States.

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THAILAND

PAPER: TAKE U.S. INTERESTS INTO ACCOUNT ON COPYRIGHT

Bangkok BAN MUANG in Thai 5 Jun 87 p 4

[Editorial: "Don't Be Too Frightened"]

[Excerpts] The United States has asked Thailand to revise its Copyright Act. People now understand in what ways this will benefit and harm Thailand and the Thai people.

It must be recognized that the United States is now in a very difficult situation. The United States has to help itself. From its standpoint, that is much more important than worrying about others, even if others are in similar straits. As for our economic and trade situation, even though we have a trade deficit of 40-50 billion baht, our financial and monetary position is much better than that of the United States. We are very happy with what we have.

We have to recognize that mutual help is essential. No one can take advantage of others all the time. All countries, including great-power countries and poor countries, struggle constantly in every way possible. But in a psychological struggle, no one likes to be threatened or oppressed. Thailand does not have to comply with the demands of the United States. But we have to have sympathy for countries with which we trade.

The reason for this is that every country thinks that it must try to help itself by producing enough for domestic consumption. If it produces an excess, it can sell this excess to earn additional revenues to develop the country and improve the lives of the people. Protecting your own interests without considering the real situation is tantamount to committing suicide out of stupidity. Every problem can be solved when it really becomes necessary.

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THAILAND

COLUMNISTS' ATTACKS ON U.S., SITTHI SAWETSILA

Khaisaeng Suksai: 'We're Dependent on U.S.'

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 28 May 87 p 3

[Debate Outside Parliament column by Khaisaeng Suksai, an MP from Nakhon Phanom: "Why Don't We Think About Self-Reliance?"]

[Excerpts] Big fish eat small fish, and adults harass children. Similarly, the United States has harassed the underdeveloped countries. This happens in the communist world, too. Let me tell you about this.

What are things like? If we want to stand on our own feet, we can surely do so. When China became self-reliant, it told how much pain it had suffered at the hands of the Soviet Union and said that it would never do that to others. This can be proven. As the saying goes, the "path proves the horse, time proves men." Almost all roads led to China at that time. I and many other Thai when to see things for ourselves at that time. All I wanted to do was prove things and tell the truth based on what I had seen. But I was jailed for 7 years and later given another 8-year jail sentence by the government, which was the slave of the United States. Those who went later had an easier time. Now, China sells us oil and even weapons at friendship prices.

Several days ago, Big Chiu returned with a big smile on his face. He had purchased weapons at friendship prices. This seems like a policy of not relying on the big country that has exploited us and standing on our own, which would make it possible to do things out of real friendship. Thus, why don't we think about standing on our own? Why do we think only about relying on the United States?

The United States has given us only weapons support, and as a result, things have been declining here ever since the Vietnam War. Doesn't anyone realize this?

Today, it is forcing us to destroy our national honor by asking us to revise the copyright law for the sake of American interests. They want us to do this in exchange for reducing a few tariffs. How much longer will we keep giving in like this? Before the United States began applying this pressure, do you know what it did? It issued a general system of preferences. Those who have gone

to the United States recently have been brainwashed. Ask them. The GSP can be applied at the discretion of the president. He can cancel this at any time. We have closed our eyes and accepted this. And some people have cheered this.

Recent reports state that the United States is desperate and that the administration has asked Congress to pass a law to have the United States become a member of the Berne Convention. That would be better than forcing countries to revise their copyright laws and looking down on other countries like this. But at present, Congress is still talking big, because it thinks that it can continue forcing smaller countries to do what it wants.

Let's not give in to them. Is the United States the only one with any honor? Let's try standing on our own feet. Let's not be dependent on anyone, because that just allows them to take advantage of us. It's time to stop dealing with those who are two-faced. It's time that we announced that we will no longer depend on those who exploit smaller countries.

Chen Charik: 'Thailand Capitulates to U.S.'

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 29 May 87 p 9

[Article by Chen Charik: "Following Footsteps of United States; What Has Been Done?"]

[Excerpts] The cabinet has passed a resolution to revise the 1978 Copyright Act following the promulgation of several laws on intellectual property rights. The American government has demanded that the Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs take action on this in exchange for special tariff rights, as has been widely reported in the press recently.

In short, the United States wants the Thai government to continue protecting U.S. interests. The United States isn't at all concerned about how this will affect the interests of the Thai people.

Looking back, what has the U.S. ruling class agreed to swap in bargaining with the Thai ruling class? The Coup Group, which took power on 9 November 1947, gave away assets. For example, it sent over 100,000 tons of rice to the United States free of charge in exchange for diplomatic recognition by the United States.

The government of Field Marshal Phibunsongkhram traded away the interests of the people in 1951 by signing a treaty of economic and military cooperation with the United States. Thailand gave up natural resources and military secrets in exchange for continued U.S. support for the Thai government. That same year, Field Marshal Phibunsongkhram began cooperating with the United States militarily. He allowed American soldiers to be assigned to the Thai military, claiming that they were providing training. (Actually, they came here to ferret out Thai military secrets.) Thai soldiers were sent to fight in South Korea.

The government of Field Marshal Phibunsongkhram protected American interests by restricting the right of the Thai people to criticize American policy. The

Thai government promulgated a law prohibiting Thai from criticizing the policies of the U.S. government. MR [royal title-FBIS] Khukrit Pramot was probably the first person to criticize the United States, for which he was arrested and tried. Many others were arrested, too.

On 20 October 1958, Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat announced that he was staging a revolution. People throughout the country were arrested and charged with engaging in communist activities and destroying state security. Special Revolutionary Council laws were used to jail people indefinitely. Suspects were executed without a trial.

The government of field marshals Thanom Kittikhachon and Praphat Charusathian sent Thai soldiers to fight in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia and allowed the United States to set up military bases in Thailand.

These are examples of the swaps that were made with the Thai ruling class during various periods that enabled the American ruling class to benefit from Thailand. The fact is, the American ruling class made many more demands of the Thai ruling class than this. And each time that the American ruling class made demands of the Thai ruling class, it was the Thai people who had to give up rights and freedoms. The American ruling class has sucked huge amounts of natural resources out of Thailand. If things are reviewed, the Americans will probably be very embarrassed by what they have done.

The United States has always made demands and set conditions in bargaining with the Thai ruling class. It should be quite clear that the United States always tries to get whatever it can whenever the Thai government encounters a crisis. The same is true this time. The United States is trying to grab what it can at a time when the political parties lack unity. The politicians are selling themselves, and the ministers are not cooperating to protect the nation's interests. Right-wing groups continue to use mobs. As an old proverb says, if the household spirit is not good, the forest spirit will take the opportunity to come in.

The things that have happened in the past show the intentions of the U.S. ruling class. These things show that in the eyes of the U.S. ruling class, a developing country is an underdeveloped country that lacks modern technology. The United States, on the other hand, is a technological giant. Thus, it tricks the underdeveloped countries into thinking that it will transfer technology to them. But before it will transfer anything, it must get something in return. The bargaining begins immediately. This is the real nature of the industrial powers. This is how they treat the developing countries of the world.

The activities of the Student Federation of Thailand and the statements by the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee all show much patriotism and the desire to protect the nation's interests. They all realize the economic danger facing the Thai people. They realize that revising the 1978 Copyright Act will be bad for Thailand. This will have a great impact on various business activities that originated in the United States, such as books, art works, movies, music,

feature articles, videos, and computer software. This could seriously damage

the economy and affect the exchange and dissemination of information that could benefit the development of science and technology.

The final hope of defeating this revised copyright act rests with the MPs, or parliament. It depends on whether they are looking at the nation's interests honestly.

'Old Soldier': Sitthi Serves U.S. Interests

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 28 May 87 p 3

[Fact and Fancy column by "Old Soldier": "No Problem for Prem"]

[Excerpts] The copyright bill is an important issue today. It is important to both the government and the people. The government wants to submit this copyright bill to parliament because it wants to please the U.S. government and the American people. The Thai government gave its promise to the U.S. government before the Thai people became aware of the significance of this draft and learned what effect this will have on Thailand and the Thai people.

It is the minister of foreign affairs, Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila, who has carried on diplomatic activities in order to promote friendly relations with the United States. The United States has entrusted him with the task of taking action on this. And action has been taken. The matter has been submitted to the cabinet for further action. This has been regarded as an element of foreign policy.

As for the Thai people, if the government promulgates this law, the Thai people, both personally and as a nation, stand to lose more than they will gain in this exchange with the United States. Thus, I am opposed to this.

Prime Minister Prem does not have any problems. Regardless of whether or not parliament passes this copyright law, he will still be prime minister. But from what I have seen and heard, Gen Prem seems to be in favor of passing this law even though the Thai people are against this. This is because this is the desire of the United States, Thailand's and Prem's great friend. Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila has given his promise to the U.S. government even though this will cause trouble for the people. Gen Prem has to comply. Because as long as he wants to remain prime minister, there is no possibility of finding another foreign affairs minister who is as close to him as Air Chief Marshal Sitthi. Thus, now that the the minister of foreign affairs has given his promise on this, Gen Prem, the prime minister, must go along. This is because in foreign affairs matters, Gen Prem is no match for Air Chief Marshal Sitthi.

I have learned that the government plans to broadcast a television program in order to inform the people about how Thailand and the Thai people will benefit by the promulgation of this law. But Gen Prem, the prime minister, will not appear on this program. This will probably be a program by the minister of foreign affairs, who is the one involved in this matter. He knows more about this than Gen Prem, and he is an MP and the leader of the Social Action Party.

If the minister of foreign affairs appears on television to explain this copyright law, his political life as an MP will be finished. The minister of foreign affairs should not think about trying to score political points. Because his personality and appearance will not win him many points with the people. I think that the minister of foreign affairs should concentrate on international diplomacy rather than politics. In terms of his personality, he is much more suited to this field.

Besides appearing on this television program, the minister of foreign affairs, who is busy helping the U.S. government and 300 million Americans carry on activities harmful to the 50 million Thai, has also ordered the Thai ambassador to the United States, Mr Asa Sarasin, to return from Washington in order to appear on this television program and explain the necessity and benefits of promulgating this copyright law. A person who lives in the United States and who sympathizes with the United States has been brought in to try and persuade the Thai people. Yes, it can be said that a Thai "made in the U.S.A." has been brought in to appear on this program.

The Sarasin family is an important and well-respected family. It is well-known throughout the country. The father of the present Thai ambassador to the United States once served as minister and prime minister. He is a very honest and well-spoken person who is worthy of great respect. His brother was the deputy leader of the Social Action Party and deputy prime minister. It bothers me that he seems to be more concerned about the American people than the Thai people. It's sad that the Sarasin family, which has never been tarnished in any way, will be trampled on by the people this time.

People throughout the country are opposed to this copyright law. People everywhere have voiced opposition to this. But I have not heard anything from the opposition parties.

Columnist: Sitthi U.S. Mouthpiece

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 29 May 87 p 3

[Right Wing column by Masuk Suankhwanpin: "Picture Showing the Government's Weakness"]

[Text] The copyright issue, which is an international political problem, has now become an internal political problem. This is causing splits within the government coalition parties. It's very embarrassing that we are arguing among ourselves over something that will benefit another country. Actually, the United States, or the U.S. government, has not said anything about this. It is Thai who are arguing about this. One side supports this; the other is opposed. And both sides have received their information from the Thai government, or to be more accurate, from Mr Sitthi, the minister of foreign affairs. The others in this administration, including those directly involved such as the minister of education, the minister of commerce, and even the prime minister, who is responsible for making the decision, have remained very quiet.

Air Chief Marshal Sitthi, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or from the Social Action Party, has in effect become the "mouthpiece" of the U.S. government. Mr Sitthi is to be pitied. He has unintentionally become an announcer on the Voice of America radio.

The United States is threatening Thailand on the issue of markets. The United States will apply pressure and block us, causing us to suffer huge losses, unless we give in to them on a few "small" matters such as this. And the United State will do this and that--according to Thai such as Mr Sitthi.

Mr Sitthi seems to be isolated on this issue. Even members of the Social Action Party are opposed to this. I have no doubt that Mr Sitthi loves his country and is just as concerned about the interests of the Thai people as are other people. The only thing is that he made a promise to the United States and so must try to fulfill his promise.

Sitthi's mistake is that he has evaluated the interests of the two countries differently than those who oppose this. Hasn't Mr Sitthi discussed this with other cabinet members? At the very least, the minister of commerce is a member of his party and so Mr Sitthi should ask his opinion. He should talk to him about what we will do if our trade interests in the United States change. Before reaching an agreement with the United States, he should have discussed this with other ministers and, in particular, with MPs in government parties, such as the Democrat Party. Also, Prime Minister Prem should have informed himself about this in detail before permitting the act to be submitted to parliament. Is Mr Sitthi the only one who knows anything about this?

It's very alarming and embarrassing if the country is being administered by just a few people, that is, if only a few people know what is going on. I sympathize with Mr Sitthi and feel that this Prem administration is very weak and negligent. It is too disunited to struggle on behalf of the country. If the United States was an enemy, it could have driven a stake into us by now.

Editorial: Copyright Changes 'Disgrace'

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 29 May 87 p 8

[Editorial: "Must Preserve the Interests of the Nation"]

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Social Action Party (SAP) seem to be "owners" of this issue. They are the ones who are pushing for a revision of the Copyright Act. When others began expressing opposition to this, the minister of foreign affairs, who is also the leader of the SAP, asked, "If the United States gets angry with us, what will we do?"

The only interpretation that can be placed on the question posed by the minister of foreign affairs and leader of the SAP is that he is intent on revising the Copyright Act in order to please the United States. That is his only reason. Thus, the statement that we will benefit from the GSP seems to be their justification for wanting to revise this law.

In order to put pressure on parliament to revise the Copyright Act and get the

Thai people to go along, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is trying to make people see that if we revise this law in order to please the United States, we will gain greatly from the GSP. It is stressing that quick action must be taken on this. Otherwise, our interests may be adversely affected. This is because the United States will discuss the GSP on 1 June. But the fact is, our world trade totals approximately 200 billion baht a year, and our trade with the United States is 40 billion baht. And of this, our GSP rights total only 7 billion baht.

It's still possible to discuss this carefully and in detail instead of rushing about as if the sky is about to fall on us. But we haven't done this. Instead, reasons have been cited in an effort to make the people think that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is doing the right thing and that it is necessary to act quickly. The question "what will we do if the United States gets angry" has been repeated again and again.

Actually, the reasons cited are just meant to fool the Thai people and get them to accept this. This is disgraceful for a Thai minister and for those responsible for implementing Thailand's foreign policy. This is not a minor matter. It is not something that parliament can ignore.

We hope that MPs will discuss this matter so that the people will know whether the policy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is based on our interests or those of the United States and whether it is based on the Thai people or the anger of the United States.

We agree with the opposition parties that have said that the administration likes to tie parliament's hands by reaching agreements with other countries before discussing the matter with parliament. These bills can't be passed into law. Because if this is the way things are done, parliament won't have any meaning. It's only duty will be to learn about the actions taken by the administration after the fact.

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THAILAND

COLUMNIST HAILS BETTER USSR TIES; SEES ISOC-CIA CONDOMINIUM

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 14 May 87 p 3

[Right Wing column by Masuk Suankhwanpin: "A Good Foreign Policy Trend"]

[Text] Although the government has many problems, I think that our foreign policy is improving. That is, there is less inclination to be the "underling" of the United States. Our RTA CINC went to China and purchased weapons at a friendship price. This is the first time that the Thai military has purchased war weapons such as tanks and artillery from China instead of the United States.

This may mean that the Thai military will tilt toward and rely more China in the future, particularly with respect to weapons, or war materials, and that we will have both China and the United States to guarantee our security. This is better than relying on just one country, which is very dangerous.

As for political policy, we are now looking toward the Soviet Union. Our foreign affairs minister is now on a trip to the Soviet Union to sound out their attitude on the Cambodian and Vietnamese issues. In the future, it may be possible to "cool down" situations, such as Chong Bok, before they become so serious. And who knows, some day, we may go and purchase tanks, artillery, and fighter aircraft from the Soviet Union.

Carrying on a policy that will create a balance of power militarily and politically between the great powers is probably the correct thing in Thailand's present situation. A person with great vision concerning foreign policy once said that obviously, we need the United States to help support the Free World, of which we are a part. But we also need China to help solve the communist problem, because the communists have not been completely eliminated here.

By the same token, if we want peace along our border with Indochina, we must look toward the Soviet Union. The CPT [Communist Party of Thailand] problem has declined. We have to admit that this is due in part to the fact that China no longer provides financial and weapons support. The same is true in the case of Vietnam. If we can make the Soviet Union understand, the problem with Vietnam will decline, too.

Some say that Vietnam has to keep fighting, or wage small wars, in order to obtain money from the great power on which it depends. Otherwise, it will starve. This is similar to when soldiers in certain countries and in certain periods stirred up trouble with neighboring countries in order to obtain money from the United States.

If we can talk with the Soviet Union and make them understand, the danger from and problems with Vietnam will definitely decline. How far Vietnam will have to withdraw its forces from the Thai border depends on the level of understanding between Thailand and the Soviet Union. That is, the greater the level of understanding, the farther the Vietnamese troops will have to withdraw. In the end, they will no longer threaten Thailand's security.

I think that Vietnam would be happy to receive aid money from the Soviet Union to develop the country instead of having to obtain money by stirring up trouble or waging war, which will just increase Vietnam's problems.

In short, our foreign policy is moving in the right direction. We are becoming more self-reliant and independent. I just hope that the CIA's old underlings in the ISOC [Internal Security Operations Command] lose their power.

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THAILAND

PAPER VIEWS SRV, USSR STANCE ON CAMBODIA

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 18 May 87 p 8

[Editorial: "The Politics of the Cambodian Issue"]

[Text] Large numbers of Vietnamese troops continue to occupy Cambodia, and Vietnamese forces have even crossed into Thai territory in the area where Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos converge. Both sides suffered heavy casualties in the clash there. But last week, something interesting happened concerning the Cambodian problem.

We are referring to the trip to Moscow by Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila, the Thai minister of foreign affairs. Most of his 3-day visit to the Soviet Union was spent discussing various matters. And besides discussing bilateral issues, Thailand almost certainly tried to make the Soviet Union understand that we desire peace and want to end the turmoil in Cambodia. Thailand is not the only one concerned about the Cambodian issue. The other members of ASEAN are very concerned about this, too. Thailand's foreign minister traveled here and there listening to these "concerns" before leaving for the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is Vietnam's most important ally. Hanoi is dependent on the Soviet Union. Not only does Moscow provide economic help, but it also gives them military aid. Thus, there is a definite link between Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia and the Soviet Union. Besides this, the great benefits that the Soviet Union bestows on Hanoi makes it necessary for Vietnam to show its gratitude for all this help.

The details of Foreign Minister Sitthi's visit to Moscow aren't clear yet. But something that should be noted is that just after Air Chief Marshal Sitthi concluded his trip, Nguyen Van Linh, the general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam, made an official visit to Moscow. It is thought that Moscow may have wanted to discuss matters with him in order to find a way to solve the Cambodian problem based on what it had heard from ASEAN through the Thai minister of foreign affairs. This is very important.

Regardless of what Vietnam's intentions are toward Cambodia, Mr Linh's trip to Moscow may soon result in Vietnam making important changes in its Cambodian policy. And something that many factions have been waiting for is about to happen. That is, Vietnam's newly elected National Assembly will convene the

month after next. Even though national assemblies in communist countries are usually just rubber-stamp assemblies, this time, this assembly will have a chance to play an important part in reshuffling the Council of Ministers.

Those who step into the administrative circle, which is controlled by the communist party, in which more reform-minded people have come to the forefront, will probably take swift action to implement a reform plan on the foreign policy front in order to improve relations with the noncommunist countries in this region. This will benefit Vietnam. And there would be no better start than to cooperate in solving the Cambodian problem as quickly as possible.

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THAILAND

COLUMNIST VIEWS PRC WEAPONS SUPPORT TO KHMER ROUGE

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 14 May 87 p 3

[Analysis column by Sucha Chulaphet: "Red Chinese Weapons and the Border Situation"]

[Text] Recently, the army, under the command of Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the RTA CINC, signed a contract to purchase weapons from Red China. This is the first time that the Thai army has decided to use Chinese weapons. The reason is that the weapons are cheap, and funds are limited. And we must modernize our army and keep it combat ready. For this reason, Red Chinese weapons will be used by the Royal Thai Army.

Normally, the purchase of weapons by the three branches of service is an ordinary matter. Funds are allocated for the purchase of weapons every year. We purchase both modern weapons that use advanced technology and weapons to replace those that have worn out or been lost.

The Thai military has been the customer of Western countries that produce weapons. In particular, the United States has been the main supplier of weapons to Thailand. This is because our two countries have cooperated strategically in opposing Indochina and the Soviet Union. Also, the purchase of weapons from the United States has taken the form of aid. That is, we have been allowed to pay for the weapons over a long period, which is a factor that is used by almost all of the countries that produce weapons. This is because the producers are well aware of the financial position of the underdeveloped countries, which are so intent on strengthening their military forces that they have forgotten the poverty of the people. Most of these countries are very poor. Also, the United States and the other weapons producers know the nature of the military leaders in these underdeveloped countries and know that they like to fight proxy wars as long as they stand to profit. The underdeveloped countries do not hesitate to fight proxy wars.

Some of the weapons are given free of charge, some are sold with long-term payment conditions, and some ultramodern weapons are given for testing. These are all conditions set by the weapons producers to tempt the underdeveloped countries.

The conditions for the purchase of weapons by Thailand from Red China are not new conditions as some people believe. Moreover, the conditions set by China lead to an observation concerning what is happening along the Cambodian border. The Khmer Rouge, which is supported by Red China, and the Heng Samrin faction have been fighting each other ever since 1979. It is known both in this region and elsewhere in the world that Red China is providing the Khmer Rouge with weapons and giving them political support in the United Nations.

Think about the quantity of weapons that have been used during the 10 years of fighting between the Khmer Rouge and the Heng Samrin faction. Through which country have these weapons been transported? People throughout the world have suspicions about this. Thailand should be very conscious of this. Because purchasing weapons from China might be construed to mean that the weapons to support the Khmer Rouge have been transported through Thailand. That could lead to a decline in the border situation during the 1988 dry season. The situation could become very bad.

It is becoming harder and harder to solve the border problem peacefully, and Thailand is exposing itself more and more to the charge that it is fighting a proxy war on behalf of Red China and the United States. This is a problem that the army needs to study and solve. These Chinese weapons could be a poison that could ruin someone's image. Something might happen before we reach the goal.

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THAILAND

HOUSE ARMED FORCES CHIEF DISCUSSES PRK BORDER WAR

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 4 Jun 87 pp 30-31

[Interview with Lt Gen Chalorn Wisamon, the chairman of the House Military Affairs Subcommittee; date and place not specified]

[Question] Members of the Military Affairs Subcommittee inspected the Chong Bok area. What is the situation there like?

[Answer] The subcommittee travelled to Nam Yun District in Ubon Ratchathani Province, which is an area that is under the tactical command of the 2d Army Region, on 18 May. We were interested in what is happening at Chong Bok. Also, the opposition had filed a motion in parliament. In view of the fact that the subcommittee is responsible for monitoring military activities, we wanted to get a first-hand impression of what the situation there was like.

When we arrived there, we tried to gather information on the situation. The Chong Bok area is an area where the borders of Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand converge. The terrain there is composed of mountains and thick forests.

As for what has happened there, Vietnam has sent forces to eliminate the forces of Democratic Kampuchea. In northern Cambodia opposite Ubon Ratchathani, Sisaket, and Surin provinces, Vietnam has driven out the DK forces. This area is under the control of Heng Samrin forces, which are backed by Vietnamese forces. They have built roads in this area, where there are various mountain passes. That is, they have built roads along the border and into Thai territory for logistics purposes or in order to move troops. They have also sent troops to seize hills. As I said, that is a tri-border area, and the terrain is very mountainous. They have occupied this area since 1986. We have tried to obtain information on how they occupied this area and to whom the area belongs.

They seized these hills in order to prevent the Khmer coalition forces from fleeing into Thailand at this point. That is, they wanted to close the rear. They seized the high ground that overlooks the plains on the Cambodian side. Thus, they can monitor movements

there, and this facilitates their activities. When we found out that the area that they had occupied belonged to Thailand.... After looking at the maps and terrain, it became very clear that they had intentionally sent troops to occupy our territory. We couldn't accept that and so the 2d Army Region made preparations to expel them.

Before launching an operation, we had to obtain intelligence on the location of the enemy. When the enemy occupied this area, they fortified the area in order to make it difficult for us to attack them. We had to gather intelligence on the enemy and find out what they had done to fortify the area. We had to send in reconnaissance teams to gather intelligence and obtain information on the nature of the terrain there. We had to gather intelligence on the location of the enemy and where they had positioned their forces.

It took a long time to gather intelligence, because the area is composed of thick forest. And occasionally, the reconnaissance teams clashed with the enemy in order to probe the enemy positions. This is a military tactic. Before you launch an operation, you have to know the enemy.

After we had obtained information on the situation, we deployed forces in order to attack or expel the enemy. We had to use a large number of troops. Militarily, you have to use forces superior to those who are on the defensive. However, I don't think that we should reveal the exact number of troops used this time. Because in combat, the enemy would like to know how many troops we have sent against them. The military has revealed this to the subcommittee. But I do not want to disclose this. This is a military secret.

In carrying out the attack, after we had obtained clear information, we mobilized artillery and aircraft to provide support. Today's aircraft and artillery are very accurate if the targets are clearly designated. The soldiers carried out operations in accord with the tactics. We have to do things in a way that will minimize losses.

The attack was launched in the middle of April. In this attack, Vietnam suffered heavy casualties. This is clear from the fact that when we reached our objective, we found trails of blood and enemy bodies that the enemy had left behind in their haste to flee the area. We used such heavy firepower that they could not withstand our attack.

In the end, we succeeded in retaking the area on our side of the border. But that area could be blanketed by the support firepower of the enemy's artillery. After they withdrew and we occupied the area, they began firing artillery rounds at us. Thus, in this fighting, we, too, suffered losses. Altogether, 45 of our men were killed, 40 suffered serious wounds and will be handicapped, and 183 received less serious wounds. Thus, the reports that 100 were killed and more than 500 were wounded are incorrect. Those figures probably refer to

our casualties throughout the 2d Army Region and not just to those suffered at Chong Bok.

To summarize, we are now in control of the area on our side of the border to a certain degree. That is, we can't station troops along every inch of the border. Rather, we are guarding the area in the rear to prevent the enemy from entering the area. This is the same as guarding the border. I used the words "to a certain degree" because the enemy can still fire rounds across the border. And we can fire back.

I don't think that the matter has come to an end. Because Vietnam still wants to gain control of this area. We can speak frankly. Controlling that area benefits them. Today, they want control of this area to facilitate eliminating the Cambodian resistance. As for the future, Vietnam would not stop there. We must not forget the matter of an Indochinese Federation. They want to seize Thai territory, too, particularly the northeast. Thus, if they occupied this area, this would benefit them in the future. They would be able to use this route across the border to bring up additional armed forces. Thus, they will undoubtedly try to recapture Chong Bok if they have a chance. Because of this, the 2d Army Region has taken steps to defend this area. Comparing the combat forces, our forces are superior. Thus, there is no reason for Thai to worry about Vietnamese forces penetrating deeply into Thai territory. The 2d Army Region has men and weapons and can obtain support. We can defend this area.

[Question] In summary, we have now forced the Vietnamese out of the area that they held. Is that right?

[Answer] To a certain degree. There are still two hills that we have not retaken. But we have seized control of the hills on both sides of these hills. The reason why we haven't taken these two hills is that they are located in a lowland area. If we entered that area, we would be within reach of enemy artillery. And it's not easy to enter that area. Whenever they withdraw from an area, they lay mines. It's dangerous to enter such areas. And now that we have retaken the hills on both sides, they can't launch an operation against us. It isn't necessary to seize those two hills.

During the time that the subcommittee was there, the army captured a Vietnamese spy. They had sent seven spies into the area, but the other six managed to escape. Their mission was to learn the positions of our forces. When we searched him, we found a map, a rifle, two grenades, a quantity of ammunition, and field gear. His mission was to spy on our forces and learn their positions, because their artillery is long-range artillery.

[Question] What is your view on submitting a motion in parliament to learn about the events at Chong Bok?

[Answer] It would not be to our advantage to discuss these events in great detail. For example, if they fired artillery at one of our villages and the village was damaged, it would be damaging militarily to discuss this openly. They would know whether or not they had hit the target.

[Question] Even before this motion was discussed in parliament, senior military officers such as the RTA CINC and others began attacking the politicians who submitted this motion. How do you feel about this?

[Answer] In submitting such a motion, they must realize that this would involve questioning people. But discussing planning, tactics, and weaknesses would certainly be damaging to our side. Soldiers are already exposed to great risk. When they hear such talk, this damages their morale. Militarily, morale is very important. If the morale of the troops is damaged, this affects their performance in carrying out their duties.

[Question] But the man who submitted the motion, that is, Mr Samak Sunthonwet, said that he just wanted to find out the facts. And he asked that this meeting be conducted in private and said that nothing would be disclosed publicly.

[Answer] If that had been explained clearly at the very beginning, I don't think there would have been any problem.

[Question] Don't you think that the benefits of explaining things to the MPs outweigh the disadvantages? They could then cooperate in solving the problem.

[Answer] Yes, I think it would be beneficial to inform the MPs from the various provinces about the dangers and the difficulties facing the military so that they can explain the matter to the people. This would boost the morale of the troops at the front. Actually, the people in nearby provinces understand what is happening and are trying to boost troop morale. Members of my Ratsadon Party are visiting the troops and taking things to them to lift their spirits, too.

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THAILAND

POLICE HELP KPNLF CAMP INMATES GET ID CARDS

Bangkok DAO SIAM in Thai 13 May 87 pp 1, 15

[Excerpt] A DAO SIAM reporter stationed in Prachinburi Province reported that at 0930 hours on 12 May, Mr Chaisit Asiriwichai, the deputy district officer for civilian registration, Aranyaprathet District, informed Police Cpt Rianchai Chaiwong, the officer on duty at the provincial police station in Aranyaprathet District, that he had detained a Cambodian refugee. He asked Police Cpt Rianchai to come pick up the suspect for further handling of the case. Mr Chaisit said that Police Master Sergeant Thawat Dansisuk, age 31, who claimed that he was assigned to Section 4, Headquarters 1, Border Patrol Police Information Office, and who lives at 37/4 Chitsuwan Road, Aranyaprathet District, Prachinburi Province, had brought a man to see him. The man said that his name was Mr Somsak Khlaisaeng, age 22, and that he wanted to obtain an ID card. Mr Chaisit then questioned Mr Somsak, because he did not have any documents. All he said was that he lived at house No 9 to the right of Ban Khlong Luk in Aranyaprathet District. In responding to the questions, Mr Somsak acted very suspiciously. When asked about his parents, he said that they were both dead. He did not speak the Thai language very clearly. When questioned further, Mr Somsak admitted that he was a Cambodian refugee. Thus, he informed Mr Wisut Chaomuang, the senior deputy district officer, and called Police Cpt Rianchai to have him come pick up the suspect for further handling of the case.

Police Cpt Rianchai took Mr Somsak and Police Master Sgt Thawat to the provincial police station in Aranyaprathet District for further questioning. Police Master Sgt Thawat said that Mr Somsak is related to his wife. He said that he knew that Mr Somsak did not have a permanent address and so he took him to get an ID card. But on further questioning, Police Master Sgt Thawat confessed that Mr Somsak's real name is Mr Ungti, surname unknown. He is a Cambodian refugee. He had slipped into town and asked him to obtain an ID card for him. They had gotten to know each other when Mr Ungti was working as an automobile mechanic in the Ratchadaphiset area in Bangkok Metropolitan. Mr Ungti confessed that he is a Cambodian refugee. He arrived at the Nong Samet refugee camp in Khoksung Subdistrict, Taphraya District, in 1979. Many of his fellow refugees went and obtained ID cards and so he wanted one, too. He contacted Police Master Sgt Thawat and paid him several thousand baht. After the interrogation, Mr Ungti was detained for further handling of the case. Police Master Sgt Thawat has been detained as a witness. People in general wonder why the police have not filed charges against Police Master Sgt Thawat, because he was the one who took Mr Ungti to obtain an ID card.

THAILAND

CHAWALIT COMMENTS ON CAPITALISM, DEMOCRACY

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 16 May 87 pp 3, 13

[Speech by Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the RTA CINC, to students at the National Defense College on 30 March 1987: "Thailand's Political System"]

[Text] Students at the National Defense College, today's topic is Thailand's political system. I know that you have heard lectures by many financial experts and political activists. That is good. What I would like to know is, now that you have had a chance to listen to these people, what do you think of Thailand's present political situation? What needs to be changed? Many people are waiting to see what your views are. I, too, would like to know so that I can make use of your views.

However, I think that it is necessary to discuss the political party system, or political system, in effect since 1932. I will try to be brief and try not to discuss principles, because I am sure that scholars have already discussed the principles with you. What I want to give you are my personal feelings based on some of the things that I have seen and taken part in recently. I want to make it clear that these are my personal views. I was not involved and so I will not discuss scholarly issues very much. I think that it is very important to get off to a good start. I think that one of the main reasons why Thailand's present political system has so many problems is that it got off to a bad start. In the political system in effect prior to 1932, even though politics was the domain of the absolute monarchy, there was already much movement on the political front. It may be remembered that such movement got underway around 1877. A letter was sent to the king stating that the situation in the world had changed greatly and that to survive in this world, it might be necessary to compromise and make some minor concessions in exchange for the greater good. It was felt that the measures then in use would not save the country and that major changes should be made in the country. I remember the events of 1881. Krom Mun Naresuanrut began carrying on political activities.

In the years after that, the king made many changes. The political system was transformed from the "four courts" [treasury, palace, capital, countryside] system to a system of ministries, bureaus, and departments. Local government administration was implemented, and many other things were done. An effort was made to adjust people to the new administrative system. This administrative system greatly facilitated the development of the country. This administrative

system, a democratic system, was something new. But the king died before he could complete his reforms.

During the reign of Rama VI, there was much activity. The king did many things. It was during his reign that commoners began arguing matters with the king. But they did so by making retorts in what they called newspapers. People had begun publishing newspapers.

Thus, I feel that very interesting political development took place at that time. There was a rebellion during that period. In 1912, Lt Leng and many other lieutenants and sublieutenants plotted a rebellion. The king arrested them but did not have them executed. They were just imprisoned for a time and then released. Even though there was much activity during that period, the king did not take action. He just made various preparations. It was Rama VII who sincerely wanted to give administrative power to the people. He had made all the preparations. If the 1932 Revolution had not intervened, he would certainly have turned over his administrative power to the people. That would have been a peaceful change of administration as a result of the king's actions. But before he could do this, the People's Committee took steps to change the administrative system. In 1932, the People's Committee formulated good standards. The 1932 administrative constitution was a very good administrative constitution. It clearly stated that sovereign power belongs to all the people. But just a short time later, when a council was formed to draft a permanent constitution, there was a shift away from the original objective. Instead of establishing a democracy, there was a return to a dictatorial form of administration. King Rama VII opposed this and abdicated. All of us know about this.

Ever since then, there has been constant political change. More than 50 years have elapsed now. That starting point was very important. That is a time that should be studied in great detail. Because if the beginning is not good, it will be impossible to achieve good results later. If we had gotten off to a good start at that time, things would be fine now. Looking at the six-point policy of the People's Committee, it can be seen that not one of these six points mentions that sovereign power, or ultimate power in administering the country, or power to make decisions or decide the fate of the country belongs to the people. This was not stated in the policy of the People's Committee. It talked only about freedoms. It talked about giving freedoms and providing a good standard of living, about ensuring happiness, and about eliminating security problems. Thus, the first point that I would like to make is that in my opinion, we got off to a bad start, and this had adverse consequences for the future.

The second thing that I would like to discuss is various misunderstandings that have been discussed time and again. Usually, there is great unanimity, because we realize that the administrative system best suited to developing the country and benefiting the people is a democratic system of administration. Our country has one special characteristic and that is that we have a democratic form of government with the king at the head. I have used the word "form," which is different from "system." "Form" refers to the method of administration, to politics only. But "system" refers to a set of things that must be considered together. A democratic system must be part of a

democratic society. This is composed of three main elements: economics, politics, and culture. It can be seen that the political system in a democracy arises because of economic changes. The political system depends on the economic system and has an economic foundation.

It can be seen that the idea of democracy was born and made headway in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, with revolutions in England, America, and France, because of one important revolution--the industrial revolution. This transformed feudal societies into capitalist societies. There was trade, commerce, and transportation. This required large numbers of people, or a larger middle class. Or stated simply, it had to be a form of administration by and for the middle class, or a democratic form of administration. This is a very important element. If the term "political system" is used loosely, the analysis will be wrong. It will be impossible to analyze things correctly unless consideration is also given to economic, cultural, and other problems.

I said that the democratic form of politics is based on liberalism, or capitalism as we call it. Liberal capitalism is the basis, or foundation, as a result of what happened in the past. As for the problems that we are experiencing today, if we allow ourselves to become bogged down in political matters, we will never make any headway. We must also give attention to other problems. The capitalist and liberal, or liberal capitalist, economic system led to the rise of democratic politics. But after the rise of democratic politics, liberal capitalism continued to evolve. It shifted away from the original intentions. Competition arose. Those with the "longest reach" got what they wanted. Greater powers consumed smaller powers, and larger organizations consumed smaller organizations. Matters of money, influence, international capital, and the centralization of capital are all economic matters. When the economic problems arose, there was a struggle for influence on this front. Those with influence tried to maintain their influence, and this developed into a form of politics.

What we see today stems from what has been described. Thus, in discussing political issues, we can't discuss just the political problems. To solve the political problems, we must also discuss economic matters. Put simply, both sets of problems must be considered simultaneously. People can talk all they want. But if the political problems aren't solved, it won't be possible to solve the economic problems. Because power is still in the hands of one group of people. Thus, regardless of what is done to develop, there will still be a huge disparity in incomes. There will be a large gap between the classes, between those with power and those without power and between the owners of the means of production and the laborers.

This is the gap that is widening between the capitalists and the laborers, or peasants. Thus, it is said that it will be impossible to solve the economic problems unless we solve the political problems, too. This is one of the things that I wanted to tell you. The two sets of problems are interrelated and must be solved simultaneously. That is my second point.

Third, we have not yet succeeded in solving our political problems. Solving these problems will require the use of power.

There is no way to solve the problems without using power. Power is essential in solving problems. The events of 1932 happened as a result of using the highest power to solve the problems. To build, we must use power. The communists have clearly stated that to change the social, political, and economic systems, it is necessary to employ force. This has been proven. Thus, effecting change without using power is very difficult. Thai society today, or Thailand's present form of politics, is not a fully democratic form of politics. Who are the people best suited to making changes? The answer is, the people who have the greatest power. And it is the government that has the greatest power. If the government does not take action, there is no way to do this. It would be very difficult. I want us to know the truth. Power comes from force. That is usually the case. Thus, people look for forces in order to have bargaining power or to have the power to effect change.

A fourth point which I think is very important is that if we aren't prepared to act, we shouldn't try to make changes. We shouldn't think about this. You can limit your thinking to this room. To have power, it is necessary to have an organization. Everything must be prepared. Today, we don't have an organization. There is great disunity, particularly concerning thinking, brain power, organization, and so on. Today, there are major splits among the activists, including scholars in various fields and both civilian and military officials. Politicians, scholars, soldiers, and government officials all hold different views. And they all view each other as the ones who are destroying democracy. It is they who are preserving democracy. Soldiers feel that politicians meddle in things too much.

The military has given the politicians a chance to administer things for 8 years now. The military has not touched them or done anything. When people have tried to take action, we have stopped them. During these past 8 years, whenever people have tried to stage a coup, we have restored power to the government. But politics hasn't improved. Thus, soldiers have thought about whether they should take action themselves. Civilians say that soldiers have just created a vicious circle. A constitution is written and an election is held. After the election, the constitution is torn up and a new election is held. The military then steps in again. Administrators, officials, and scholars accuse the military of interfering. The same is true of regular government officials. They have definite ideas. The reason why there is a lack of ideological unity is that people never think about working together to solve the problems. People think that they are right and that everyone else is wrong. This is a problem of organization or of having organizations to effect change. Those who take the initiative must have the cooperation of other. It's like forming a political party. This is critical.

Soldiers, politicians, and scholars should not be divided in this way. People should be divided in terms of whether their thinking is dictatorial or democratic. Soldiers, civilians, government officials, merchants, state enterprise personnel, and so on can all hold democratic views. Those who hold dictatorial views can include soldiers, civilians, policemen, and so on. If we seek out those who hold similar views regardless of what field they are in, we can build a force even though these people are now attacking each other strongly. That can happen once there is a method and a line. Something else that is very important is the number of ways to effect change. Broadly

speaking, there is the violent line and the peace line. One faction controls things using every means at its disposal, and the other faction attacks it. Even if a faction uses a peace line, it is a forceful peace line with sufficient forces. Thus, change can be divided this way: one is parliamentary change and the other is revolutionary change. Stated simply, the parliamentary method is to proceed in stages based on the existing laws in order to effect change and improve things. For example, I feel that the present government is very fragile and that it does not have sufficient administrative power. We do not have a strong executive. What needs to be done to have a strong executive? Many people have said that there is nothing difficult about this and that all that needs to be done is to put the 1978 constitution into effect again. Or it can be revised slightly. This is possible. Although some say that this would be difficult because MPs would not agree--because they want to maintain their power--I am not certain. There might be a way to do this. The parliamentary way is to use political parties. If we had a political party with a majority of the seats in parliament, or a true mass party that really had the support of the masses, we could easily effect change in a parliamentary way, that is, using the peace line.

The other way is to launch a revolution. Here, revolution does not refer to a coup d'etat or the use of force. It refers to a major change, a change that requires great caution. This revolution would affect the entire system. Many people are probably wondering how this could be done without staging a coup. I want to tell you that this is possible. We have to use force. But not force in the sense of staging a coup d'etat or seizing power illegally. That is not what I am referring to.

All the points that I have discussed are very important. But today, the country is very confused about these things. This is what I think. I doubt whether anyone here today thinks that Thai politics is in good shape. Most people think that it needs to be improved. In particular, today's political system is very dangerous. To see this, we can look at parliament, which is the heart. We can look at the administration and the political parties, which form the important structure. We can look at the politicians, which are important elements. We can look at the pressure groups and interest groups, which are important factors. It's very worrisome. Everyone probably agrees that changes need to be made. We are aware of the problems. This is very worrisome.

These are the things that I wanted to touch on briefly. Because scholars and other experts have probably talked to you about these matters. I wanted to discuss only a few of the things that I think are very important. I wanted to give you my personal views on how to do things and think about things. In my view, people today frequently misunderstand each other. I think that everyone agrees that the structure of the democratic form of politics with the king at the head needs to be improved. Everyone agrees with this. Everyone agrees that this is a problem. But people do not agree on how to go about this. And people's views are not in line with reality or the facts. Many people think that whenever the government encounters problems--and this is true of any government, not just the present government--it is because of a lack of strong administrative power or a strong executive. There should be a strong

executive. I have already discussed how to create a strong executive. As I said, there are two ways. Put simply, this can be done through the political parties or through revolution.

Some people think that it will be very difficult to create a strong executive for the administrative branch by going through the political parties. It may be remembered that in 1968.... During the period 1968-1969, a political party was formed, and there was much propaganda to the effect that it would be a mass party, the first mass party to struggle against the communist party. That was during the time that Field Marshal Thanom was prime minister. Finally, after running out of patience, he did away with this party of his. We should study the 1968 constitution then in effect, which is thought to have provided for a strong executive. If the separation of administrative power from legislative power was good, why did Field Marshal Thanom do away with this? In particular, the mass party, that is, the United Thai Peoples Party, which had a mass base, was dissolved. We should study the reasons for this. Today, many people are saying that if the government is to have strong administrative power, we must have a system in which there is a separation of powers. You may remember that in a democratic form of administration, there can be centralization. England is a model of this. We elect MPs, and those MPs serve as ministers, or form the administration. That is, we first organize people to represent the masses and then choose certain representatives to form the administration. This is one system. This is the system presently in use in Thailand.

Another system is one in which there is a separation of powers. That is, there is a separation of administrative and legislative power. There are checks and balances. There is no way for one to topple the other. There is an elected prime minister. MPs [cannot] serve as ministers. This is another type of system that is referred to as a separation-of-powers system. The United States provides the model for this system. Franch has modified these two systems. This is the De Gaulle system. In the French system, there is no complete separation. It is not really the administration that has power. The prime minister is appointed. There are checks and balances. There are some differences. Our system as embodied in the 1968 constitution was a system of partial political separation. That is, MPs were elected, and they could serve as ministers. But once they became ministers, they had to give up their positions as MPs.

In short, people are saying that the problems that arise when MPs serve as ministers will not arise if we return to the system in effect in 1968. Many people are saying this. I heard someone say this just 2 days ago. This is what people are saying. We have to think about what to do if there is no other way. To solve the country's problems, we can do this. I have no objections. We can try this. But I would like people to remember that that did not succeed in the past. Don't forget that De Gaulle's system and the systems used in the United States and elsewhere are all different from our system of separation of power or semi-power.

Don't forget that we need to look at the heart of the matter, not the minor details. The situation in 1968 was very different. At that time, the separation-of-power system entailed a variety of details in administration at

a time when the country was mostly democratic. But the system that we implemented was not fully democratic. If we want to revert to the system used in 1968, we can do so. We can do anything we want even though we do not have full democracy. The economy is as I have described it. There are still centers. Capital is not dispersed. Our objective is to become a newly industrialized country. Some say that it is already 50:50. They say that the industrial sector is 50 percent of the agricultural sector and that it will be 60 percent next year. Thus, if Thailand is to become a newly industrialized country, the country must develop continuously. Industrial countries must move ahead. Think about that. Is that true in view of the great concentration of capital, the present influence of international capital, the monopoly on technology, which leads to a monopoly on other things, and today's terrible poverty? The poverty is so bad that people say that even if they sold their land three times, they still couldn't pay all their debts. Thus, anything could happen.

This is very dangerous. These economic conditions have a political effect. As I said above, politics is based on economics. On the political front, people still misunderstand things about the constitution, elections, form and content, and so on. Every time there is an election, old faces are elected again. The government's long-term political development plan may not be correct. Today, if we implement a separation-of-powers system in a dictatorial setting, things will be even worse than they were in 1968. Because at that time, it wasn't a full dictatorship. But now, things have grown worse. Can this system be implemented again? I don't think that will be easy. That is not good. The question is, what should be done? What do we want the country to be? Let's not revise the constitution or change the election laws. As we have said, democracy does not depend on the constitution. If you don't believe me, that's fine. Go ahead. We have already had 13 constitutions. If that's not enough, how about 50? People say that this is a transition period and that technology and development are making great strides. In the next 5-10 years, if Thailand doesn't make a strong move, it will fall far behind the other countries in the world, and it will be impossible for the country to recover. Future generations will curse us for not doing anything to develop the country.

Thus, I think that we must correct things the right way. If we focus on revising the constitution, we will go around in circles. Because the constitution is not an indication of democracy. As I have said many times, the constitution comes afterwards. For example, the form of administration was changed on 24 June 1932, but the constitution was not promulgated until 6-7 days later. That was our first constitution. That is one example. If we become bogged down in trying to revise the constitution, we won't be able to solve the country's problems. We must change ourselves and become democratic. The first thing is to find out which elements are democratic. This is our problem. Why aren't we democratic? What is preventing us from succeeding? Take the election law, for example. Dr Chadok has pointed out that there used to be 50-60 parties. A political party could consist of a single person. We revised the law. We changed the political party law. We forced the political parties to have 5,000 members and field candidates in at least 5 provinces in each region, with at least so many people per province. There must be 15 founders to register the party. During elections, the number of candidates

fielded by a party must equal half the number of MPs. Each candidate may spend up to 350,000 baht plus another 300,000 baht and 5,000 baht for the candidate's fee. In short, 100 candidates can spend more than 60 million baht. Thus, to play politics, each party must have more than 60 million baht. Is that too much? Between the past and now, can we find a middle ground? Suppose that we revise this. If they claim that this will restrict the rights of the people and do away with "one man one vote," can we restore this right?

Let's turn to the issue of representatives. Some argue that MPs are representatives of the people but that senators aren't. The argument goes back and forth. Only the Speaker of the House can be the president of parliament. These are the things that they argue about all the time. But both sides are wrong. Neither one represents the people. Because being a representative of the people is not a legal issue. Rather it depends on whether the person works on behalf of the people. Any MP who does as much as he can for the people is a representative of the people regardless of whether he is elected or appointed. This issue is debated from the standpoint of the law only. But they are not concerned about serving the masses or basing their actions on the wishes of the people. Thus, arguing about who is this or that is useless. It doesn't get to the root of the matter. Thus, the words "type-2 representative," or Senate, should be eliminated. There should be just type-1 representatives. Or changes should be made. It was once proposed that senators should come from a variety of occupations and positions and that they should not be appointed. Because people are appointed to the Senate to compensate them for voting a certain way or supporting someone. How about giving farmers 50 seats? Actual farmers. The farmers would have representatives. But they would no longer be fake representatives. Today, so many are fakes that it's difficult to distinguish the real ones from the fakes. As I said, there is much confusion. Can't we do this?

As for developing the country and having it keep pace with other countries using a democratic form of government with the king at the head, the things that need to be done can be done. Who will do these things? The people with power. What line will they follow? The line discussed above. How will they do these things? They just will. It isn't necessary to go into the details.

The things that I have said here are just a few of the things that I would like to say to you. There are many other things that I would like to discuss but can't. I have to apologize for this. But if I discussed those things, it would just cause trouble. The reason why I raised these problems is because the prime minister ordered.... He has been prime minister for 7 years now. Things have been very difficult. He asked me to find solutions. But I said only a few things. He is the one who solves the problems. It is the prime minister who has to solve the problems. I don't have to think too hard. I have talked with him. He has to solve the problems. And he has been successful. He has tried to solve the problems to benefit the people.

I will stop here.

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THAILAND

ARMY OPPOSITION TO CHAWALIT, REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL

Bangkok SU ANAKHOT in Thai 5-11 May 87 pp 10-13

[Unattributed report: "Destroying Unity of Three Bigs, Big Sua Plays a Quiet Game"]

[Excerpts] During the past 2 weeks, amidst a rising political temperature and rumors of an impending coup, rumors appeared about the "dismissal of Gen Chawalit." A high-level news source in a government security unit said that the embassies of certain great powers appear to be one important source of this rumor. The news source also said that it isn't known why people are spreading rumors about the dismissal of Gen Chawalit and a coup. But various incidents that have occurred recently, including the attack on the home of MR [royal title--FBIS] Khukrit Pramot and the meeting to establish a "Revolutionary Council," to which the name of Gen Chawalit has been linked, have generated a great reaction among high-level power groups in Thai society.

A news source in a security unit said that on 30 April alone, there were rumors about a coup, the dismissal of Gen Chawalit, and the return to Thailand of Gen Athit. This clearly indicates that there is a movement underway to stir up trouble.

Behind the Joke Council, the Revolutionary Council

The Revolutionary Council incident was an important factor that led to the present confusion. Because not only did it announce that it intended to "oppose" the House of Representatives, but it claimed to represent the Thai masses and be the true representative of people of all walks of life. It also charged the House with representing capitalists and interest groups. This was a challenge to the system of parliamentary democracy, in which today's democratic forces have confidence.

The Revolutionary Council has greatly alarmed people in state organizations. For example, the Siwichai group led by Mr Prasit Chaithongphan of the Labor Department and former ISOC [Internal Security Operations Command] experts have vigorously opposed the Revolutionary Council.

A high-level army news source said that even in the army, a group of senior officers is monitoring the activities of the Revolutionary Council with a

feeling of great unease. These officers have obtained data indicating that certain officers in the Democratic Soldiers group are involved in this. And it is well known that the Democratic Soldiers group has close ties to a senior officer. Thus, when the founders of the Revolutionary Council announced the formation of this council, this immediately caused a split with other power groups and created an atmosphere of mutual apprehension.

But on the other hand, as a result of the Revolutionary Council's decision to hold a meeting, the people attending the meeting have clearly shown people that this council is nothing but a "joke."

A high-level military news source said that the Revolutionary Council is composed of Mr Thawon Yakhotha, Mr Suthin Chaichit, a former MP from the northeast, and several other former MPs from the same region. They have ties to certain soldiers in the 2d Army Region and to the Labor Democracy Party of Mr Prosoet Sapsunthon, who is under the control of certain officers in the ISOC who call themselves the Democratic Soldiers.

Looking at the relationships of the Democratic Soldiers, it is obvious that senior officers had to know about these activities. A news source in the Police Department said that the Special Branch Division has been monitoring the activities of this group ever since it began formulating plans and that it knows a lot about this group. The meeting for 200 people at the Suda Palace Hotel on Sutthisan Road on 15 April did not escape the notice of the Special Branch Police.

The reason why government security units haven't touched the Revolutionary Council may be because they know that this group has ties to senior military officers. It was only after this story made the headlines and various factions began making demands that it became necessary to control things.

The same news source said that from looking into the ties of the Revolutionary Council, it was learned that the several million baht used to hold the meeting and mobilize thousands of people from various provinces did not come from the secret government budget as some people thought. Rather, this money came from certain bankers to whom appeals were made through senior military officers.

Besides this, in mobilizing masses from the provinces, a mass unit under the control of government units has carried out things. Thus, with such a huge group behind it, why is the Revolutionary Council such a joke?

A high-level news source said that the Revolutionary Council was established in order to stir up trouble for the House of Representatives. It will be an important sparring partner of the House in the future. This will put a break on the activities of the House. For example, if the opposition parties try to submit another no-confidence motion, they will definitely encounter great opposition from the Revolutionary Council.

"I can assure you that this council is not going to blaze a trail for Gen Chawalit's revolution. It's capable only of muddying the waters. And as far as those in back of this are concerned, that is really all they want," said a military news source.

Those Trying To Topple Big Chiu Have Moved Quickly

The military news source said that the activities of the Siwichai group are a sign of the split between government organizations over the activities of the Revolutionary Council. It is well known that some state units are behind this Revolutionary Council. The news source said that there are probably many senior officials in government units who have not taken a public position on this. Instead, they have expressed dissatisfaction about other things.

Most of the state officials who are unhappy about the activities of the Revolutionary Council are conservatives, or people who like to call themselves hawks. These people have been worried about the thinking of Gen Chawalit ever since the implementation of Order 66/23, which has induced people to leave the jungle. And most recently, his ideas on revolution shocked them.

The news source said that people who have not wanted to reveal their identity have expressed their opposition by distributing leaflets attacking this and charging that Big Chiu is behind the Revolutionary Council, which is similar to a presidium, as MR Khukrit pointed out. What is important is that some senior military officers are very conservative and do not agree with the ideas or policies of Gen Chawalit. They are very upset about the activities of the Revolutionary Council. These officers have obtained data showing that the person behind this is a colonel who is a member of the Democratic Soldiers. He is the one who made the preparations for this meeting. They also learned that the money came from a banker.

The news source also said that these senior military officers are certain that the senior officers with whom they have constantly had ideological conflicts are behind this. They base this on the fact that this colonel has coordinated things.

"Thus, this group is attacking these senior military officers using an old charge. That is, they are charging them with following the pro-Soviet communist line," said the news source. He added that this is part of the rumor about a coup and the dismissal of Gen Chawalit. These two factions in the military are very cool toward each other. One faction feels that the other faction is trying to topple the present power center.

From Big Chiu to Big George, Setting up a Protective Fortress

A military news source said that ever since thahan phran irregulars surrounded the home of MR Khukrit Pramot, the conservative powers, including senior military officers and a well-known opposition politician, who have coordinated things and achieved power in society, have become very active. The "green light" has been given to toppling Gen Chawalit. This same group has taken advantage of the Revolutionary Council matter. Certain military officers and politicians have used this to attack Gen Chawalit.

Gen Chawalit is not the only one who has come under attack. The news source said that another senior officer, that is, Gen Sunthon Khongsomphong, the assistant RTA CINC and "their apparent" to Gen Chawalit, has come under strong attack, too. This is because Gen Sunthon has been designated as the next RTA

CINC and is regarded as the representative of Gen Chawalit. It is thought that Gen Chawalit will continue to control the army even though he will no longer hold a position after his retirement in 1988.

The news source said that Gen Sunthon has not played much of a role in the Revolutionary Council affair. But he participated openly in the effort to defeat the no-confidence motion. Thus, Gen Sunthon will come under heavy attack from now on, with those who oppose him using the no-confidence motion as a point of attack. The objective of these people is to topple the power group of Gen Chawalit.

The Prospects of Big Sua, Who Has Been Very Quiet, Are Looking Brighter

As has been known for a long time, Gen Phichit Kunlawanit, the assistant RTA CINC, is the hope of the conservatives. He is one of the officers in the army who has a chance to become RTA CINC. However, he has been playing a rather quiet role. As a result of stupid actions during the 9 September 1985 rebellion, Big Sua has had to walk softly and "play a quiet game." Also, because Gen Sunthon has been designated the "heir" to Gen Chawalit, Big Sua has had to play an even more circumspect role. But now that efforts are underway to destroy Gen Chawalit and Gen Sunthon relying on various phenomena, Gen Phichit's image has improved and his chances look much better.

Today, it is well known that Gen Chawalit, Gen Sunthon, and Gen Phichit are united in their course of action. There is no contention among them. The only thing is that Gen Phichit is the person whom the conservatives, who oppose and who want to topple Gen Chawalit and Gen Sunthon, have chosen as their representative.

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BACKGROUND ON CHAWALIT, REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL SUPPORTERS

Bangkok SIAM RAT SAPDA WICHAN in Thai 10-17 May 87 pp 6, 7

[Article: "The Revolutionary Council and the Defeat of the Professor"]

[Text] Political observers consider that events in the Revolutionary Council represent a big defeat for the professor from Satsana Lane, Prasoet Sapsunthra. Even when Mr Prasoet was forced out of the Communist Party of Thailand in 1958 because he followed the line of Soviet Russia and he was attacked for writing a policy line for the Sahaprachathai Party that Gen Thanom Kittikhachon said was a copy of that of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, his reputation was not hurt as much as it has been by the failure of the organization of the Revolutionary Council this time.

A basic policy which was neatly adopted by the Revolutionary Council was that the council was to be a meeting of people of all walks of life to discuss the problems of a nation in decline, whether economic, social or political problems. This meeting was to find policies which would bring about a change for the better and transform the participants of the meeting into members of the Revolutionary Council who would organize the Revolutionary Council to support the peaceful revolutionary policies of Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the commander of the army.

But because of the circumstances of this Revolutionary Council, the newspapers called it the joke council, the farce council and many other names which were disrespectful and mocking; the Revolutionary Council opened on 28 April at the Asia Hotel and continued on 29 April at the Ratnakosin Hotel. It seems that those who took part in this Revolutionary Council, aside from villagers from various provinces who had been induced to join in the meeting and understood very little about it but came to take part because people had offered them money in return, were defeated MP's and political activists from various professions who joined together in high spirits to organize this Revolutionary Council. In addition, it was reported that the villagers who took part in the meeting and who did not pay their hotel bills had their rice bags and property seized by the hotel. It was the picture of a complete farce.

In addition, the sudden, abrasive outburst of the Siwichai Group on 30 April clearly opened old wounds for the Revolutionary Council.

The Siwichai Group is headed by Mr Prasit Chaityathongphan, the director of the Division of Foreign Workers of the Department of Labor. The secretary of the group is Mr Wanlok Na Ranong, vice chairman of the National Free Labor Council. The group includes Mr Thawin Wasut, a consultant to the National Free Labor Council; Mr Anusak Bunchana, chairman of the National Free Labor Council; and Mr Chamnan Laobutra, a representative and an expert of the Division for Domestic Security.

Mr Prasit said that the Siwichai Group, which is made up of lawyers, civil servants, educators, workers, businessmen and experts of the Division for Domestic Security and includes 10 branches, did not agree with the other groups that had joined in to set up the organization calling itself the Revolutionary Council because it had been stated that it was the task of the council, which is run by members of three groups--the Democratic Labor Party, the Fifth Assembly of the Communist Party (Mr Thongpak Phiangketu) and the Democratic Soldiers--to destroy the political reputation of Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut. There is evidence that on 6 and 9 April this ruling group issued a document called an official letter signed by Mr Thawan Khayotha, the chairman of the People's Movement for Peaceful Revolution which is headed by Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, which they had their agents distribute throughout Bangkok and the provinces and which stated that 6 million baht was available to support operations at that time. This ruling group promised that those taking part in the meeting would receive payments amounting to 1,000 baht per person from the northeast, 5,000 baht for every four from the north, 500 baht per person from Bangkok, 700 baht per person from the central region and 1,500 to 1,700 baht per person from the south.

Mr Prasit indicated that when Mr Prasoet Sapsunthra, the head of the Democratic Labor Party and an important adviser to the national Revolutionary Council, announced that the situation was ripe, it was a deception because the situation was not sufficiently ripe to change strategies. If the military were to be deceived into taking part in revolutionary activity, it would cause a great deal of damage.

A source indicated that of the 6 million baht which was to support the setting up of the Revolutionary Council, only a little over 1 million was spent on expenses for the meeting at the Suda Palace, for printing material, for sending letters in preparation, for hotel rooms and food.

The money for this came from three sources. The first was a big banker, and the second was a former high-level civil servant. Both were in line to receive major positions in the Revolutionary Council. Another source was the Democratic Soldiers organization.

Reports from those taking part in this meeting of the Revolutionary Council indicate that Mr Chamnan Yuwabura had been going to the house of Mr Prasoet Sapsunthra since 6 April; he would go there before noon and remain busy until late at night. Mr Prasoet Kanchanawat went to the house on Satsana Lane only once, while Mr Chaloom Sirikhet, the head disciple of Mr Prasoet, and a well-known democratic officer with the rank of colonel provided communication and coordination. The revelation of Mr Chamrat Maknaso, an MP from Udonthani of

the National Democratic Party, that the soldiers who took part in the Revolutionary Council were all members of the Democratic Soldiers organization whom he knew and members of the Division of Domestic Security who had slept at his house was enough to indicate who was behind the Revolutionary Council.

The positions which were filled first and which the newspapers wrote about first, such as those of Mr Prasit Kanchanawat, who became chairman of the Revolutionary Council, and Mr Chamnan Yuwabura, who became secretary general, were positions that had been agreed on beforehand; Mr Prasit declined the position later because the newspapers attacked the group severely, affirming that, "it is felt that this group will get lost and then flee," the source said.

As for the relationship between Mr Prasoet Sapsunthra, Mr Prasit Kanchanawat and Mr Chamnan Yuwabura, the source said that all three had been linked in the past when they had worked together as subordinates of Gen Praphat Charusathian at the time that Gen Praphat was director for defense against communist activities as well as interior minister.

With regard to the movement to set up the national Revolutionary Council, the source said that after the issuance of the first and second official letters on 1 and 9 April, the group conferred on how to mobilize the people throughout the country to support peaceful revolution. Later they met to make preparations for a meeting which would prepare for the establishment of the national Revolutionary Council on 15 April at the Suda Palace Hotel in Saphan Khwai, arrange for the meeting of the national Revolutionary Council on 28 and 29 April and arrange for the meeting of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Council to plan for the operations of the Revolutionary Council on 5 May. In addition, early in June there is to be a big meeting to call for a large-scale peaceful revolution on 24 June. After that there are to be regular calls to support revolution. "These were the old plans they adopted to create the revolutionary conditions; if the Revolutionary Council falls flat, these various plans should take all the blame."

"Big Chiw probably knows about the Revolutionary Council, but he probably does not really approve of it because it would appear from this announcement that pressure is not to be used to promote revolution, which means that we must have peaceful revolution without any pressure."

"The subordinates who love Big Chiw would be unlikely to use these tactics to help their boss because it would be like their destroying him," the source said.

The situation in regard to the Revolutionary Council now, in addition to having descended to the level of a joke council in the eyes of the public, is also one of uncertainty, because while Mr Sawai Phatthano, a deputy minister of interior, has been pressing on with the records for the council, Gen Prachuap Suntharangkun, the minister of interior, has been investigating the activities of this group and the people behind it, with the result that the police department called in the officials of the group last Monday to ascertain whether they had violated the security of the state according to section 116 of the law. Police General Narong Mahanon, director of the Police Department, insisted firmly that if he discovered violations, he would have to proceed according to the law, which meant that he would have to arrest the group behind the Revolutionary Council.

THAILAND

CRMA CLASS 5 POLITICKING FOR TOP POSTS DISCUSSED

Bangkok SU ANAKHOT in Thai 20-27 May 87 pp 10-13

[Unattributed report: "Four Months in the Future"]

[Text] The annual military reshuffle is just 4 months away. The top position at stake this year is the position of deputy RTA CINC. The person appointed to that position will be the leading contender for the position of RTA CINC.

The question being asked today is, Will it be "Sua" or "George?" Because both assistant RTA CINCs have similar qualifications. But given our present "heir" system of passing on power, unless something unexpected happens, Gen Sunthon Khongsomphong has a 90 percent chance of being appointed deputy RTA CINC this September.

Big George, RTA CINC in the Shadow of Big Chiu

A high-level army news source said that this September, Gen Sunthon will be appointed deputy RTA CINC in place of Gen Phisit Nobut, who is retiring. And in September 1988, Gen Sunthon will replace Gen Chawalit as RTA CINC. Because Gen Chawalit has said that he will retire at age 55. This progression is based on the "heir" system. Gen Chawalit and Gen Sunthon are both members of CRMA [Chulachomkhlo Royal Military Academy] Class 1, and in recent years they have worked together closely on important matters, from smashing underground movements within the military to carrying on activities outside the military. Recently, Big George has been very active as a political lobbyist.

In terms of personality, Gen Sunthon is very different from Gen Chawalit. That is, he is a tough scrapper who is very outspoken. Gen Chawalit, on the other hand, is very thoughtful person who likes to formulate clever plans. But after Gen Sunthon becomes RTA CINC, Gen Chawalit can leave the military confident that he is not "leaving the power circle." He will be replaced by his "heir" and will continue to wield influence over his successor. What this means is that the plans formulated by Gen Chawalit, which cannot be completed in just the 2 years that Gen Chawalit is the RTA CINC, will be continued by Gen Sunthon. And this includes Big Chiu's idea of "launching a revolution" with respect to the economic and political structure.

After Big George Retires, Will It Be Big Sua's Turn?

A news source in CRMA Class 1 said that the thing that will help reduce the tension between Big Sua and Big George, both of whom now hold the position of assistant RTA CINC and who are equally qualified to be promoted to deputy RTA CINC and then RTA CINC, is the fact that Big George will retire before Big Sua. This is an important solution. The army has stated that Gen Sunthon will retire in September 1991. Gen Phichit will retire in 1992. That means that after Gen Sunthon retires, Gen Phichit will have a chance to serve as RTA CINC. Thus, the rise of Gen Sunthon will not close the door on Gen Phichit.

The fact that Gen Sunthon will retire first should help heal the splits within the army. Similarly, Gen Chawalit announced that he would retire at age 55 in order to reduce the opposition within the army to his appointment. If things proceed in this manner, Gen Sunthon will serve as RTA CINC during the period 1988-1991. Gen Phichit will then hold this position during the period 1991-1992.

Change Under Pressure from CRMA Class 5

No one can guarantee that everything will proceed exactly as described above. There are several factors that could lead to a different outcome. One is that even though Gen Phichit will have a chance to become RTA CINC after Gen Sunthon retires, Gen Phichit will retire just a year later. And he must wait another 3 years. Some people feel that this is not very fair.

A high-level army news source said that there is movement among CRMA Class 5 officers concerning the future of Class 5's leader. These officers feel that he [Lt Gen Suchinda] should be appointed to the top position after Gen Sunthon. This means that Gen Phichit may not enjoy "smooth sailing" after Gen Sunthon retires in view of the fact that Class 5, which controls the forces in the army, has one objective in mind.

Big Su, the Man Who May Overtake Big Sua

Today, people feel that Lt Gen Suchinda Khraprayun, the deputy army chief of staff and the key man in Class 5, will definitely rise to the top position in the army. A Class 5 news source said that the reports that Lt Gen Suchinda will be made an army region commander in this year's military reshuffle are definitely false. There were similar reports last year. At that time, Lt Gen Suchinda was the assistant army chief of staff for operations. But instead, he was appointed deputy army chief of staff in order to wait his turn for the position of army chief of staff.

The news source said that the rumors to the effect that Lt Gen Suchinda will be given a command in order to enhance his reputation as both a scrapper and administrator are probably aimed at slowing down his advance up the ladder. "Either this year or next year, he will definitely be promoted to full general and appointed army chief of staff," said a Class 5 officer. He confirmed that there is no chance of Lt Gen Suchinda being appointed army region commander. That would be a waste of time. "If Suchinda is appointed army chief of staff,

it will mean that he is in line for the position of RTA CINC," said the same officer.

Army files state that Lt Gen Suchinda will retire in September 1993, one year after Gen Phichit. A question worth thinking about is whether his fellow classmates will wait until 1992 to apply pressure to have their classmate appointed to the top position for just a year. Because other members of this class are moving up, too. For example, Lt Gen Isaraphong Nunphakdi, the 2d Army Region commander, will retire in 1993. Lt Gen Wimon Wongwanit, the commander of the Special Warfare Command, will retire in 1994.

Lt Gen Suchinda rose very rapidly and now has just two steps to go. That is, he is waiting to be promoted to full general and made army chief of staff before being appointed RTA CINC. In view of his rapid advancement at the beginning, it seems unlikely that he will slow down at the end. Thus, it seems very likely that CRMA Class 5 will apply great pressure to have Lt Gen Suchinda appointed RTA CINC in September 1991 following Gen Sunthon.

Deep Crack Between Class 5 and Big Sua

The confrontation between the key man of Class 5 and Big Sua is not the only problem. Looking back, it can be seen that relations between CRMA Class 5 and Gen Phichit have always been strained. A news source in Class 5 said that the events of 9 September 1985 caused a serious split between Gen Phichit and an important divisional commander who is a member of Class 5, which meant that there was a split between Gen Phichit and Class 5 as a whole.

At that time, Gen Phichit was the 1st Army Region commander and as such was responsible for the 1st King's Guard Division. But the day of the rebellion, he was unable to control or coordinate things.

"Because members of Class 7 were involved in that coup attempt, Class 5 would not have had anything to do with that. But what is worth noting is that the promoters of that coup must have known that without the support of the 1st King's Guard Division, it would be almost impossible for the coup to succeed. The image that people have is that elements of the 1st King's Guard Division had agreed to join the coup but then failed to show up. Some charged that Big Sua had been involved. After the coup got underway, the promoters attacked the 1st King's Guard Division in order to get revenge. That happened as a result of a plan within a plan to induce the plotters to take action and then betray them. As a result, the coup failed. And so a senior officer and a Class 5 general are not on speaking terms," said a high-level army news source.

The news source added that after these events, a senior officer ordered an assassination team to kill a Class 5 general. Finally, this Class 5 general had to be transferred to the northeast in order to prevent any more problems.

That is one important event that caused a serious split between Big Sua and CRMA Class 5.

Close Relations Between Big George and CRMA Class 5

The mutual support and close relationship between Big Chiu and CRMA Class 5 has led to a close relationship between Big George and Class 5. Because of the position that he has taken, Big George can get along well with CRMA Class 5. Many members of Class 5, such as Lt Gen Wimon Wongwanit, became very close to Big George while serving under him. This relationship will definitely become very important after Big George replaces Big Chiu as RTA CINC. And that is the time when the key man of Class 5, Lt Gen Suchinda, will be promoted to full general and made army chief of staff. He will then be in line for the position of RTA CINC and be at the same level as other senior officers. As for whether Class 5 will be able to gain the position of RTA CINC after Big George remains to be seen.

Plan To Topple Big George and Big Chiu

The rise of Big George when Big Chiu retires is an important turning point. Because when Big Chiu leaves the army, Big George will have to function as the shadow of Big Chiu in the army in order to back Big Chiu's political moves. Thus, the appointment of Big George, and his ability to maintain his position, is an important factor that will have a decisive influence on Big Chiu's political future.

A high-level news source in the army said that an old power group that is trying to regain power is engaging in various activities at this turning point in Big Chiu's career. Besides attacking Gen Chawalit on old charges, this old power group is also attacking Gen Sunthon, the heir of Big Chiu. The news source said that this old power group is coordinating things with a senior military officer who is losing power and the leader of an opposition party. They are trying to topple Gen Sunthon in the 4 months left before the military reshuffle and prevent him from gaining the top position.

"Their attacks will focus on personal matters. They will try to tarnish his reputation by raising the minor wife issue and other such issues. Their goal is to topple him during these remaining 4 months. This would affect Big Chiu and CRMA Class 5, too," said the news source.

Four Dangerous Months for Big George

An army news source said that recently, Gen Chawalit told Gen Sunthon to be very careful during the coming period and not do anything that would enable the leader of this opposition party to launch an attack. He had learned that this opposition leader has ties to the old power group that hopes to destroy Gen Chawalit and Gen Sunthon.

The news source said that Gen Chawalit told Gen Sunthon to be particularly careful in playing a political role. That was after Gen Sunthon played a direct and rather conspicuous role in defeating the motion to hold a no-confidence debate. He met with Sia Leng from Khon Kaen, which led to a lobbying effort at the Ambassador Hotel. Gen Chawalit has reminded him not to

become involved in such matters in the coming period so that he does not expose himself to attack. Thus, these next 4 months will be a very suspenseful period for Gen Sunthon and Gen Chawalit.

However, the supporters of Gen Sunthon are quite strong and should not be overlooked. This includes members of Class 5, who have close ties to Big George. This is because this concerns the future of Class 5's leader, too. Gen Sunthon played a major role in defeating the no-confidence motion. But even though this has exposed Gen Sunthon to criticism, this made "Pa" [Prem] very happy. And so he will have the full support of Pa, too. At the same time, this shows the quiet role being played by Big Sua. He kept quiet even in the matter involving Pa.

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CSO: 4207/230

THAILAND

EDITORIAL VIEWS POLITICAL MILIEU OF CPT ARRESTS

Bangkok SIAM RAT SAPDA WICHAN in Thai 3-9 May 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Urban Communists"]

[Text] Recently, police officials arrested several important members of the Communist Party of Thailand, or CPT, and seized various documents, a short-wave transmitter-receiver, communications equipment to intercept radio messages of government officials, and many other items.

Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the RTA CINC and deputy director of anticommunist activities, later told reporters that those arrested by the police are senior officials of the CPT, that is they are members of the Political Bureau and directed CPT activities in the various regions. Because of these arrests, the CPT will not be able to hold its 5th Party Congress.

He also said that the arrest of these CPT members is not contrary to Prime Ministerial Order 66/23. The purpose of this order is not to support the communists but to defeat them. These suspects, or members of the CPT, were arrested at a time of political change. In particular, ever since Gen Chawalit was appointed RTA CINC, people have distributed leaflets charging that his policy is to draw the communists out of the jungle into the city using Order 66/23 as a tool.

In the evaluation of the results of the anticommunist struggle, it was stated that during the past 6 years, even though the CPT has stumbled in the armed struggle, it has greatly expanded its front and made preparations to launch another armed struggle. It has stockpiled weapons and war materials, and urban activists have forged links with activists in the jungles and plains. They have also expanded their weapons transport units in order to revive the armed struggle. The arrest of these senior members of the CPT confirms that the communists still intend to wage a people's war, or topple democracy. It also shows that even with Order 66/23 we have not been able to defeat the communists or eliminate them completely.

The government's policy based on Order 66/23 is to defeat the communists mainly by political means. That is, the objective is to develop the administrative system so that we have a perfect democracy. The saying is, the communists can defeat dictatorship but will lose to democracy. This is because

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FINANCE MINISTRY SAID TO CONSIDER REPLACING BANK CHIEF

Bangkok NAE0 NA in Thai 25 May 87 pp 5, 12

[Unattributed report: "Rumors of Dismissal of Kamchon Reach Hat Yai; Sommai's Men Have Been Purged"]

[Text] Rumors about the imminent dismissal of the governor of the Bank of Thailand (BoT) seem to be true. The finance minister did not confirm this but did not deny it either. Members of the BoT board discussed this in the south. If this is done, it will mean that the people appointed by Sommai have all been purged. The two top contenders for the position are from the Ministry of Finance.

Today, there is much talk about whether the minister of finance, Mr Suthi Singsane, will dismiss the governor of the BoT, Mr Kamchon Sathirakun. This is an issue of great interest at the Ministry of Finance, the BoT, and the board of the BoT. Some members of the BoT board even discussed this matter during the board's trip to the south last Saturday and Sunday. They said that Mr Kamchon had taken the board to visit the bank's branch at Hat Yai in his capacity as the chairman of the board and governor of the BoT but that he might not hold these positions much longer.

The entire board of the BoT traveled to the south on the morning of Saturday, 23 May. They traveled by airplane and landed at Hat Yai. The main purpose of their trip was to examine possible sites for establishing another BoT branch in the south in accord with the plan to establish additional branches. At present, there are branches at Hat Yai, Khon Kaen, and Lampang.

The minister of finance has refused to comment on this rumor. At 1130 hours last Friday at the Oriental Hotel, the finance minister presided at a ceremony to sign a joint-investment contract between Bangkok Bank and the Mitsui Bank. They will establish a leasing business. Reporters tried to ask Mr Suthi whether he plans to dismiss Mr Kamchon as governor of the BoT, but he sidestepped the issue.

Just after he was appointed finance minister, Mr Suthi said that he would not interfere in the administrative affairs of the BoT. A reporter asked him if that is still his intention. Mr Suthi look at him and then said, "I have nothing to say today." A reporter then asked if it had been decided not to

dismiss the governor of the BoT. Mr Suthi immediately turned his back on the dozen or so reporters near him and refused to say anything. When Mr Suthi turned back again, a reporter said that in that case, the governor is definitely going to be dismissed, isn't that right? The minister just looked at the reporter and did not respond. Reporters asked the same question several more times, but Mr Suthi refused to confirm or deny this by either gesture or word. A reporter said that if he didn't want to speak, he could shake his head to indicate that he did not plan to dismiss the governor. But Mr Suthi did not do this.

Within the Ministry of Finance, several administrators from the level of deputy director-general on up feel that if Mr Kamchon is dismissed by the minister of finance, the two top contenders for the position of governor of the BoT are Mr Phanat Simasathian, the under secretary of finance, and Mr Banthit Bunyapana, the director-general of the Revenue Department. Mr Banthit was considered for this position once before when he was the director of the Fiscal Policy Office. But Mr Nukun Prachuapmoh, the then director-general of the Comptroller-General's Department, was the more prominent figure and so he was appointed governor of the BoT. He held that position from the middle of 1980 until the end of 1984. He was replaced by Mr Kamchon. Before he was appointed governor of the BoT, Mr Kamchon was the director of the Fiscal Policy Office.

A news source on the board of the BoT commented that Mr Kamchon is now the only person appointed by the previous minister of finance, Mr Sommai Huntrakun, whom Mr Suthi has not touched. Because within the Ministry of Finance, the directors-general of the various departments have all been reshuffled, including those who had held their position for just a year.

"If Mr Kamchon is dismissed, that will erase the 'signature' of Mr Sommai completely," said the news source.

Mr Kamchon has told those close to him that he is trying to carry out his job as well as he can. He has worked to improve the situation concerning the financial institutions, which had chronic problems before he was appointed to this position, problems that exploded during his tenure as governor. If he is dismissed, he will retire and stay at home. Or he may resign.

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THAILAND

CENTRAL BANK MAY ACT AGAINST ILLEGAL TRUSTS

Bangkok NAO NA in Thai 14 May 87 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Illegal Trusts Come to Life Again in Chonburi; Police Have Been Checkmated in Search for Fingerprints of 'Wanlop'"]

[Text] Dozens of illegal trusts are emerging again, particularly in Chonburi and in the south. The central bank is very concerned. It has encountered many problems. It is trying to suppress share funds, arrest economic criminals, and suppress illegal trusts. A subdistrict chief in Chonburi is very influential. Officials have fled into the jungle.

A news report from the central bank has revealed that many of the illegal trusts that were suppressed 3 years ago have come to life again, particularly in Chonburi Province, which used to be the main center for illegal trusts in the eastern region. Things were quiet for awhile, but more than 10 trusts have been established in just the past 2 months.

There are also illegal trusts in the south. Altogether, the number of trusts in the south is more than triple the number in Chonburi. However, no illegal trusts have appeared in the north, the northeast, the central region, or Bangkok. The central bank is preparing to suppress these again. This will get underway in Chonburi Province. After that, suppression activities will be carried on in the south.

At present, the central bank is making an effort to suppress the illegal share funds that have appeared in Bangkok. Share funds have sprung up again now that interest rates on deposits in the commercial banks and financial institutions have dropped. When this is completed, operations will be conducted in Chonburi.

In suppressing the share funds, the bank will cooperate with the Suppression Division instead of the local police, because this will be more convenient. And in some cases, officials working at the local level come under great pressure. "Some of those who have gone once refuse to go again. In Chonburi, for example, there is a very well-known subdistrict chief who can be very cruel."

Some shops in Chonburi sell gold or furniture as a front. But they are actually operating illegal trusts, receiving deposits and making loans just like regular financial institutions. One time, during a suppression operation, a member of the Chonburi Chamber of Commerce complained that officials were destroying the province's sources of capital, because he had shares in or was the owner of an illegal trust.

To suppress the illegal trusts, the central bank has turned over many cases to the Police Department. But in only one case, which took place in Yala, has the culprit been punished. The others have all beaten the charges. This is because this is a very complex type of case. There are many documents and accounts. It was not until just recently that the police took resolute action to establish a special unit to handle such cases. Such units have been established and disbanded many times. But it was not until last month that the Police Department took resolute action and established a unit to suppress economic and financial criminals.

As for Mr Wanlop Thanwanitchakun, the former chairman of the board of the Asia Trust Bank, whose actions resulted in the bank suffering losses totaling 8 billion baht and who fled to the United States in 1984, a news report states that U.S. officials have arrested him. They have asked Thai officials to send a copy of his fingerprints to confirm his identity. But this has not been done. "He has such great financial influence that even though he has been found, it's doubtful if any action will be taken," said a police officer.

Mr Thinkon Thanwanitchakun, the former managing director of the Asia Trust Bank and the son of Mr Wanlop, has fled abroad, too. It is thought that he, too, is in the United States.

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CSO: 4207/219

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EDITORIAL VIEWS POSSIBLE CHANGES AT, CONTROL OF CENTRAL BANK

Bangkok KHAO PHISIT in Thai 3-9 Jun 87 pp 6, 7

[Editorial: "The Bank of Thailand, Free To Control or Controlled"]

[Text] There is much discussion in the mass media about the rumor that senior officials in the Ministry of Finance are evaluating the role and efficiency of top officials at the Bank of Thailand [BoT], the ministry's most important mechanism in controlling and managing the nation's financial policies to ensure that they are carried out in accord with the government's policies. If the rumor is true, it would come as no surprise if changes were made at the top of the BoT when the terms of these people expire. Conversely, it would be very surprising if sudden changes were made as a result of political pressures, with such decisions usually made based on political emotion. This happened not too long ago, with the cover story being that the "governor of the BoT could not accept the policies of the minister of finance."

It is well known that the position of governor of the BoT is a political position. It is the minister of finance who makes the recommendation, and he has the authority to appoint and remove people as appropriate. This refers to how "suited" a person is to implementing the financial policies of the Ministry of Finance in his capacity as the person who manages and controls the financial atmosphere of the economic situation to ensure that things are done in accord with the policies. Viewed from this angle, it can be seen that in managing the financial affairs of the economic system, the BoT must operate under certain political constraints that stem from political interests and that are imposed through the power of a politician (the minister of finance). These do not stem from theoretical reasons or economic reality. In such conditions, the financial management structure of the economic system tends to rest on a very weak foundation and to be readily affected by changes in the world economy. In many instances, this has done great damage to and put much pressure on the domestic financial situation. Businesses and consumers within the domestic economic system have been badly hurt, which is what happened in 1983 and 1984.

If the rumor that the Ministry of Finance is thinking about replacing the present governor of the BoT is true, it's likely that this is being considered for political reasons rather than other reasons. Today, it is well known that the government's position is very "shaky" in view of the fact that the people

are dissatisfied with the way that the Prem administration has handled economic and political matters. Thus, now that a senior leader in the administration is taking steps to reshuffle the cabinet, it seems highly likely that this attempt to reshuffle the cabinet will affect the position of the governor of the BoT. Because he is one of the main targets of attack by the opposition parties and people who have ties to the minister of finance, his superior.

Because the power of the governor of the BoT derives from the political influence of the minister of finance, nothing is certain about the financial management of the economic system. There is nothing to ensure that the economic system will respond in a timely manner to the economic and financial changes in the world based on economic reasons. Thus, if he wants to keep his position, it's difficult for the governor of the BoT to maintain continuity and act courageously and honestly in managing things without worrying about the desires of those with political power. He won't have any problems if he doesn't pose any objections and is content to be a good follower. But if he is a bold person who is confident that his principles are correct and who refuses to grovel politically, it's very likely that he will have conflicts with the powerholders in the Ministry of Finance and end up losing his position. This is what happened to the previous governor of the BoT.

In view of the fact that the BoT is the most important mechanism of the economic and financial system in managing things and stipulating measures to control the various mechanisms of the financial system and ensure that they operate effectively and facilitate the stable growth of the economic system, there must be people at all levels who have theoretical knowledge and management capabilities and who know how to use the theoretical tools in an efficient manner based on the actual situation. What is not needed are people who are highly skilled at flowing with the political tide. For this reason, the process of appointing and removing senior officials at the BoT needs to be changed so that they are free of political constraints. The BoT should have the authority to formulate policies and manage and control the various financial mechanisms so that things are done based on economic principles. The purpose of this is to enable the BoT to function as the "brain" of the country's financial system.

Actually, the Ministry of Finance has many subordinate units that it can use as tools to implement the financial policies of the ministry and government. There is no reason to place the BoT under the control of the Ministry of Finance as if it were an economic-finance department like the ministry's Office of Fiscal Policy. We feel that the BoT plays a much broader role than that of the ministry organization mentioned. To bring financial efficiency to the economic system, the BoT must be turned into an independent entity.

With respect to the government's use of fiscal and monetary measures to solve the economic problems in the system, the BoT should not be subjected to power pressures. This will destroy the balance in the decision-making process. As well, this would pose a danger to the market mechanism in the economic and financial system as a result of interference by the political power of the Ministry of Finance. There are many previous instances in which the Ministry of Finance imposed its decisions on the BoT concerning the use of financial

measures. This destabilized the domestic financial system and damaged the mechanisms in the system. Examples are the devaluation of the baht in 1981 and 1984, the decision to merge the Siam Bank with the Krung Thai Bank, and the scandal involving corruption in the management of the finance and securities companies, 4 April Trust program.

We feel that it is essential to change the structure with respect to the power wielded by the minister of finance over the BoT. This must be done as quickly as possible. This refers to changing the power that affects the BoT in order to enable it to manage its own affairs. It must be independent at the policy level and have the power to make decisions in implementing measures free from the influence of the Ministry of Finance. We are not concerned about who becomes the governor of the BoT in this new power structure. Because once the various systems within the BoT are independent, this will automatically bring about greater efficiency and fairness in managing the country's economic and financial affairs.

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CSO: 4207/245

· OPPOSITION MOVES ON RICE PRICE SUPPORT BILL

Bangkok SIAM RAI SAPDA WICHAN in Thai 10-17 May 87 pp 8, 9

[Article: "The Prem Government Will Certainly Lose—Warning From 'Buntheng'"]

[Text] "If they agree not to guarantee the price of rice, they will certainly lose—I would just like to warn them about this."

Mr Buntheng Thongsawat, the leader of the opposition and head of the United Democratic Party, emphasized this in a discussion on the proposed legislation for guaranteeing the price of rice which was proposed by Mr Chaowalit Suksawat, the MP of the United Democratic Party from Uttaradit, and his group and which was considered by the Parliament last Thursday, 30 April.

Guaranteeing the Price of Unhusked Rice

Mr Chaowalit, the person who proposed the legislation, made a statement about the reason for the proposed legislation which is basically designed to create a law for guaranteeing the price of unhusked rice. He said:

"Inasmuch as we still do not have a law guaranteeing the price of unhusked rice bought and sold in the market, the price is unstable. It does not change with the season--the merchants purchasing the unhusked rice are usually the ones who set the price. In a year in which the farmers achieve a good harvest, the price is apt to drop; in a year in which the rain does not come in season, water is short and rice production is small, the price is apt to rise. Because the state is encouraging crop cultivation in all divisions, especially rice cultivation, and is assisting the farmers by experimenting with modern cultivation techniques to transform agriculture, the farmers produce many millions of tons of unhusked rice every year.

Although Thailand is the biggest rice exporting country in the world, its farmers are very poor and their living standard is pitiful because their production brings a very low price that does not cover their investment in rice cultivation. As a result their debts increase steadily, and sometimes they must mortgage their land to get the funds to plant rice the next year. In the end, some of the mortgaged land will have to be foreclosed on because the farmers are unable to find the money to redeem it. This situation is the greatest problem farmers face now. Therefore, in order to keep the price of rice stable and

conform to real conditions, a stable price for unhusked rice should be set by the government on a long-term basis, and the price should not drop below that set by the government. And so we must adopt this legislation.

The Government Does Not Agree

Mr Prachuap Chaiyasatsana, an assistant minister of trade and MP from Udon Thani of the Democratic Party, who was in charge of investigating the situation, reported that they had surveyed almost the entire country and found that there was a problem of money not reaching the farmers. As a result, the government established a committee and a rice policy and provided more than 5 billion baht to purchase rice.

"As an MP I consider that proposing this law is correct," Mr Prachuap said. "But we must consider what is possible."

Mr Prachuap said that he personally would like for the farmers to make money. But in any case passage of this law would probably conflict with section 37 of the constitution.

Under section 37, individuals generally are free to join in associations, unions, federations, cooperatives or other groups.

Joining in, establishing, operating as, and giving up associations, unions, federations, cooperatives or other groups is generally permitted under the provisions of the law.

Mr Wichit Wisetsuwannaphumi, MP of the Democratic Party from Bangkok, indicated that he would not support the proposed legislation. He said that he agreed with the intention of the law, but he doubted that passing such a law would help the farmers very much because trade in Thailand is free and the price of agricultural products is set by supply and demand.

The MP from Bangkok gave the example of the law to set a minimum wage: it was ineffective because there were many employers who paid less than the law allowed and there were still many unemployed.

"Setting the price of rice would be impossible. Suppose rice were 3,000 baht per ton; the government would have to use one-fourth of the budget and would still have a problem with storage. And if there were penalties, the merchants might cease trading, which would cause problems for the farmers."

Mr Chaturon Chaisaeng, MP from Chachoengsao of the Democratic Party, was another who indicated that he would not support this law for the reason that although he understood the good intentions of the MP's, he had personally studied this law in detail and followed the government's solutions for the problem of the rice price. He considered that the proposed legislation was confused.

Mr Chaturon explained that although the proposed legislation was called legislation to guarantee the price of rice, a study of its measures revealed that

it was not a law guaranteeing the price because the actual substance of the law setting the price of rice did not allow for different kinds of transactions in trade.

"Suppose the price of rice were set at 2,500 baht per kwian [a cartload equal to 2,000 liters], but the farmer needed money and wanted to sell for less; it would lead everyone to break the law," MP Paetriu said. "If it were this easy, we could pass a law so that all Thai people had an income of 10,000 baht or which would forbid poverty for Thai people. We intend to help the poor people, but in practice this is impossible."

The Government Will Certainly Lose

Many members of the opposition indicated that they would support this law; for example, Mr Sihanat Rucha, the MP from Chaiyaphum of the United Democratic Party, remarked that on 27 August 1986 the government announced that it would definitely make a lasting correction on the low prices for agricultural products, but in fact it was close to the harvest season before the government appointed the members of the first committee to consider the first problem.

"The price of unhusked rice is a problem that has been with the Thai nation for a long time. If this law is not passed, there will be no way for the farmers to pay their debt, and the debt of the Agricultural Marketing Organization will rise steadily," Mr Sihanat said. "I have considered the passage of a law that would cancel the debt or eliminate the interest so that the farmers could catch their breath."

There were many other opposition MP's who indicated that they supported this law, but the most interesting was Mr Buntheng Thongsawat, the MP from Lampang and head of the United Democratic Party, who said with regard to Mr Prachuap's statement that if good could be accomplished, it should be. This law is not concerned with guaranteeing the price of rice. The proposed legislation is only half a measure; it gives the government a tool to work with. Because past governments did not have this tool and did not have a clear policy for solving this problem, they just continued on without knowing how much money they were losing.

"This law will give the government a policy," Mr Buntheng emphasized. "It will take the pressure off the government. It will confer very broad powers; it will be like giving the government a blank sheet of paper and letting it fill in the details. If the government intends to do something, it will appreciate getting this tool when looking for methods of operation and considering action. The claim that there is no storage space is not true."

Mr Buntheng said that the government had used billions and tens of billions of baht to rescue banks and financial institutions. If these funds had been used to help the farmers, there would have been no losses.

"From what the government and the government MP's have said, in essence they are not opposed to the principle of this law but consider that it cannot be done. If they cannot do it, why don't they leave?" Mr Buntheng asked. "If

the principle is good, then those who are to carry it out should be changed. Let the opposition do it. If a majority opposes this, then they are not being honest. If members agree to oppose this, then the Parliament will have nothing left to do. If they agree not to guarantee the price of rice, they will lose—I would just like to warn them about this."

Despite Mr Buntheng's warning, in the end the proposed legislation to guarantee the price of rice was defeated by a margin of 130 votes to 45 votes.

8149/12859

CSO: 4207/212

THAILAND

BRIEFS

PAPER: U.S. IN DECLINE, BEWARE OF OVER-RELIANCE--During the past 2-3 months, one of the important stories on the international economics front has been the decline in the value of the dollar relative to other international currencies, particularly the yen. Another important problem has been the U.S. trade deficit, which has increased greatly. These are important factors that point out that the United States is now encountering serious economic problems and that as a result of this, the role played by the United States in other fields, particularly its role with respect to other countries in the world, will decline greatly. Consideration should be given to the direction of long-term international relations. Because of this shift from an economic great power to a power of lesser importance, Thai policymakers must monitor this change carefully. In particular, in the political and military fields, we should not rely solely on the United States. The government should direct its economic and political foreign policy at the European Communities, Japan, and third-world countries, including ASEAN. Because today, we can no longer rely on one country alone. [Editorial] [Excerpt] [Bangkok NAED NA in Thai 20 Apr 87 p 3] 11943

CSO: 4207/220

IMPROVEMENT OF YOUTH UNION AT BASIC LEVEL URGED

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 17 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Nguyen Thanh Van: "What Can Be Done To Improve the Quality of Basic-Level Youth Union Organizations?"]

[Text] In order to advance to the 5th National Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union Congress in November of this year, more than four provinces and municipalities and many directly dependent Youth Union organizations throughout the nation are holding Youth Union congresses at all levels. A problem debated enthusiastically is how to improve the quality of the activities of Youth Union organizations at the basic level. Nearly everyone participating in the discussions have agreed that the combativeness the Youth Union organizations at the basic level has declined, which is a foremost concern of the Youth Union echelons. According to studies and investigations of the activities of a number of basic-level organizations, 50 percent of the Youth Union chapters are average, 30 percent are weak and deficient, and 20 percent have relatively good activities. In general, in many localities the average and deficient basic Youth Union organizations account for a rather high percentage. The combativeness of the Youth Union organizations and the assault role of the Youth Union members cannot be brought into play. Why does that situation exist?

With a spirit of looking directly at the truth and correctly evaluating the truth, the Youth Union congresses in the localities have concluded that the Youth Union has not risen to a level equal to its new responsibilities, above all because the Youth Union echelons and members do not yet fully understand their role and responsibility the Youth Union organizations in the assault mission of attaining the economic-social goals in the localities. The party committee echelons and governmental administrations do not yet accurately evaluate youths, and do not yet truly believe in the rich capabilities of youths. The obligations and rights of youths have not been satisfactorily balanced, which has prevented youths from enthusiastically fulfilling the missions assigned them. Meanwhile, the political-ideological work lacks vitality, is not yet responsive and timely, tends toward moralistic generalities, and avoids the pressing economic-social problems of the nation and the localities. That situation demands the renovation of the contents of the basic-level Youth Union activities. The process of renovation is a process of continually improving the quality of Youth Union members and the

combativeness of Youth Union organizations. The combativeness of the Youth Union depends above all on the level of political consciousness and the exemplary vanguard role of Youth Union members in fulfilling all missions assigned by the party and Youth Union. Youth Union members must be people who have a spirit of overcoming all difficulties and endeavoring to raise their levels in all regards, who readily accept the new, struggle against backward customs and negative manifestations within the Youth Union organizations and in society, and ensure the interests and collective mastership right of the youth masses. The political-ideological work must adhere closely to the economic-social objectives and specific missions of the localities. Youth Union members must understand and implement the goals, ideals, and missions of the Youth Union by means of real activity and the socialist emulation movements in the localities. It is necessary to create an appropriate activity structure, draft correct plans, and achieve good coordination between the Youth Union organizations and the relevant sectors so that youths can make contributions, mature, and have rights. The experiences of many basic Youth Union chapters demonstrate that in order to improve the quality of Youth Union members and chapters it is necessary to clearly understand the circumstances, levels, thoughts, and aspirations of the Youth Union members in order to help them. Every 6 months Youth Union members must be evaluated and categorized, on the basis of the work programs and missions for which each member has registered. During the activity sessions of the Youth Union, it is necessary to pay attention to developing democracy and equality in discussions so that Youth Union members can participate in discussing all matters related to the Youth Union. Furthermore, the Youth Union chapters must be concerned with applying practical measures toward Youth Union members, especially those experiencing difficulties, or who have demonstrated deterioration in their thought and way of life. We must resolutely dismiss from the Youth Union members who violate discipline, violate the Youth Union statutes, or harm the prestige and honor of the Youth Union. Expelling from the Youth Union members whose moral quality has deteriorated, and admitting new members who are fully qualified are laws ensuring the existence and development of the Youth Union organizations and are also urgent demands of building strong basic organizations capable of attaining the economic-social goal in the localities. In the present situation, attention must be paid to developing potential Youth Union members from among members of Vanguard Teenagers units and young men and women engaged directly in production and combat. By means of the production, work, and combat movements we must develop Youth Union forces and bring to an end the situation of developing and admitting Youth Union members by "beating the drums and registering." The Youth Union cadres are important and are a decisive factor in the advance or decline of basic Youth Union organizations. Therefore, the viewpoint of the party committee echelons toward the Youth Union is to regard cadres doing Youth Union work as party cadres doing youth work. The Youth Union cadres doing mass proselytization work must work with people who are young, very dynamic, and have many creative capabilities. Thus people doing Youth Union work must be cadres who have political skill, who are capable of organizing and educating youths, who are capable of serving as staffs for the party committee echelons with regard to the youth work, and are interested in youths. In order to have good Youth Union cadres who meet those requirements, attention must be paid to selecting cadres and Youth Union members who matured at the local level. Selection must be tied in with cadres training plans. Youth Union cadre plans must be tied

in with plans regarding party and state cadres and there must be openness and democracy in evaluating and promoting cadres. Concern must be shown for building up the corps of cadres, including full-time cadres, part-time cadres, and people on assignment. Most of the cadres are part-time or on assignment. They play a very important role and must be cared for and cultivated so that they can have the knowledge and ability to effectively carry out the Youth Union work.

The Youth Union cadres must continually recommend to the party and state correct systems and policies for mobilizing and encouraging cadres to do youth work. Furthermore, depending on the specific conditions of each locality, production unit, or commercial unit, the Youth Union echelons must be concerned with the rights of the nonspecialized Youth Union cadres.

Discussion of and adequate concern for the matter of improving the quality of the activities of basic Youth Union organizations manifested determination to achieve renovation in guiding and organizing the congresses. After the Youth Union congresses were held, the spirit of emulation among Youth Union members was strengthened and in some places the Youth Union echelons developed the results of the congresses with fulfilling the urgent missions of the localities. Thousands of Youth Union members in Minh Hai, Cao Bang, Ha Son Binh, Hai Hung, and other provinces have registered to volunteer to do a good job of fulfilling the 1987 missions.

However, in some places preparations for holding the congresses were not meticulous, still emphasized form, and were not truly concerned with the specific, urgent problems of youths. After the congresses the youths lacked enthusiasm and confidence and movements for youths to play an assault role in attaining the economic-social goals were not launched. Those are matters worthy of concern in guiding the holding of Youth Union congresses in the localities.

5616

CSO: 4209/487

PEOPLE'S COMPLAINTS SAID SOMETIMES POORLY HANDLED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 23 Apr 87 p 1

[Article by Le Quang Dinh, Phu Nhuan Ward: "Public Reception Only Successful When People Are Satisfied"]

[Text] Public reception to resolve complaints and grievances has legalized and concretized the viewpoint of "using the people as the supporting base." In some locations, public reception has become a procedure with reception schedules and spacious reception rooms; but the theme and working procedures must be reexamined. Reading summaries in the newspaper, we see that this or that location has solved such a percentage of grievances but the resolution is not precisely in keeping with its significance, that is in keeping with the expectations and requirements of the people being received, or could it be these are only a proportion of the petitions being sent, the others drifting away to some other location? If this is the case, it is a matter for the posts and telecommunications sector.

I know about one house repossession lawsuit and grievance that has lasted for 12 years...since first liberation, and has still not been resolved. The complaint was sent from the ward to the central government in Hanoi and from the central government to the ward nearly 10 times but absolutely no agency or echelon has had any opinions on direction and the blame has been pushed off on each other until finally, the case returned where it started 12 years ago, at the Ward 1 Court.

Through the decades since the matter began, countless agencies have been involved, great amounts of time and money have been wasted, innumerable documents have been copied for filing, a set for each location, great amounts of effort have been wasted in explaining and pleading, and the people are justified in being fed up! Some have halfway lost their confidence and are resigned to giving up the matter. This is not counting the trips to a number of state agencies to find the right cadre with authority which is not easy. The people are usually told to "come back on Monday," to "return tomorrow on the hour," or "he has gone to a meeting, to school, to work, to inspect, to a basic unit, to visit, to take leave or to the hospital," and even "to drink coffee nearby"! If a woman, she has "gone to give birth" or "has a sick child"! All of these reasons, whether legitimate or not, cause the citizen no little agitation and trouble. The operating procedures of detachments engaged in public reception work must be rearranged.

For public reception work to be renovated, produce effective results and be trusted by the people, I suggest the following: Public reception is usually to resolve problems after the party concerned has gone everywhere else without satisfaction. I say satisfaction and not accomplishment because it is unsure whether every complaint or accusation is accomplished as desired.

Public reception is not pointing out the addresses of agencies where one must go to make complaints (because the people already know them), nor is it simply forwarding the application and then washing one's hands of the matter. Public reception cadres, after seriously listening to the presentation, must accept the file, issue a receipt and forward the application in accordance with the official correspondence system; and after the scheduled period of time, the public reception agency must reply to the complainant by letter to give him a basis for an ensuing complaint if necessary. In cases of misunderstanding in which the complainant is wrong, the public reception cadre must calmly explain with reason and feeling, causing the party concerned to contemplate the right and wrong and to voluntarily withdraw the complaint. The complainant does not accomplish his purpose but is satisfied. This is also a success of the public reception cadre.

7300

CSO: 4209/495

INACTION IN RESOLVING ILLICIT ACTIONS CRITICIZED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 27 May 67 p 1

[Article by Ben Nghe: "Dreadful Silence"]

[Text] On 2 successive days, the newspapers NHAN DAN and SAIGON GIAI PHONG formally published two short articles, enclosed by a border on the front page, on "Jobs That Must Be Done Immediately," signed by N.V.L. Because these two articles brought up tasks about which the masses are concerned and expectant, public opinion was warm and enthusiastic. The first article condemned and resolutely opposed the illicit and illegal actions causing prices to rise, adversely affecting the lives of the laboring people. The second article stated that cadres causing great losses to state assets must be severely punished. This article had a sentence given great attention by the public, "Since the period of preparations for the Sixth Congress, the party and state have launched a movement of speaking frankly and speaking the truth, praising those who do well and criticizing those who do not to achieve correction, with punishment if necessary. Newspapers from north to south have presented many major violations discovered by the masses but most have subsequently become a "dreadful silence." It is hoped that as of now, there is "renovation" and an "end to this situation." The newspaper articles of Comrade N.V.L. have elated compatriots, comrades and soldiers, and have encouraged and exhorted the press and other mass information agencies to properly fulfill their responsibilities. It is greatly hoped that party committees, administrations and key cadres at all levels and sectors continually maintain the "speak frankly and speak the truth campaign" aimed at "praising if good, criticizing for correction if not, and punishing if necessary; afterwards, presenting information in the newspaper and other dissemination agencies," precisely as Comrade N.V.L. wrote. To accomplish this, it is greatly hoped that all echelons and sectors coordinate and assist in creating favorable conditions for the press to promptly praise the fine and good while simultaneously discovering, investigating, clarifying and severely condemning negative incidents, gradually and actively struggling to repel them, and effectively supporting the campaign to purify the party, state agencies and external society. Only by successfully achieving this can the people increasingly believe in the party; the reverse is precisely as written by Comrade N.V.L., a "dreadful silence."

7300

CSO: 4209/510

THUAN HAI LAUNCHES NATIONAL-SECURITY MOVEMENT

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 20 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Hoang Mai of the Ministry of Interior: "The Movement To Safeguard National Security in Thuan Hai"]

[Text] For many years now the public security police of Thuan Hai Province have bolstered the ranks of their cadres and enlisted men, have emphasized increasing the number of guidance cadres, and have helped the bureaus, departments, and units in the province fulfill their mission of maintaining political security and protecting social order and safety in the strategic areas. The public security police have been increasingly bolstered quantitatively and qualitatively with regard to specialized ability and moral quality, and have helped the provincial leadership grasp and guide the basic tasks. In recent years the masses and the public security and armed forces organizations at the basic level have uncovered, and helped the public security police uncover and stop many illegal activities by all categories. by means of recapitulating the actual experiences over a period of many years, combined with guidance by the Ministry of Interior with regard to the streamlining of the command and guidance apparatus, and strengthening and consolidating the basic-level public security organization, the province has had many thoughts on improving the public security apparatus. With the slogan, "streamline the province, perfect the district, and adequately strengthen the basic level," Thuan Hai eliminated 12 intermediate organizations and concentrated on building up the people's security forces and the people's police so that they could be capable of fulfilling their missions. One hundred twenty-five cadres and men were transferred and redeployed in order to match their abilities, strengths, and working conditions, and enable everyone to increase their professional knowledge and experience and outstandingly fulfill the missions assigned them. The provincial public security police took the initiative in reporting to the basic-level party committees on the quality and ability of the cadres assigned to the district, subward, and village echelons, and have provided guidance so that the basic-level party committees can introduce public security leadership cadres to participate in the new party committees. In 102 villages and 25 subwards the heads of the public security police were elected to the party committees, and each district and city has two party committee members who are public security policemen. All party committee echelons have issued resolutions on the tasks of maintaining security and order, building pure and

strong public security forces, and promoting the mass movement of safeguard national security.

The public security forces have been bolstered in the strategic and remote areas. Along the coast and on islands the people have strictly implemented the seven points to safeguard security. The masses in the fishing collectives along the coast have reported to the public security police many ships and boats attempting to flee abroad or engaged in illegal activities.

In the jungles-and-mountains areas, where bandits often operate surreptitiously, the public security police encourage families with members who have joined the bandits to appeal for them to return to live in the villages. The people are still the principal forces in helping the public security police locate the bandits, appealing for them to surrender, and tracking down and arresting them. Along with the governmental administrations and mass associations in the localities, they have relieved 25 complicated locations and eliminated a number of the bandits' secret infrastructures. The public security forces, militia, and mass associations in nine key villages were strengthened.

By means of assigning additional public security forces to the basic level to directly guide the movement, grasp the situation, and promptly resolve problems that arise, the provincial public security police also gained better understanding of the population situation. That is a basic task which not only helps the governmental administration do a good job of managing the various categories but also brings about concrete results in managing and providing jobs for people who reach working age, and has a major impact on economic-social management.

Beginning with the working method of "streamlining the province, perfecting the districts, and adequately strengthening the basic level," the public security forces of Thuan Hai have attained a number of accomplishments in safeguarding political security and social order and safety.

In 1986 the province's public security police were honored by receiving the circulating flag of the Council of Ministers in the "For the Security of the Fatherland" emulation movement."

5616

CSO: 4209/488

ARMY MEDICAL INSTITUTE INTENSIFIES DISEASE PREVENTION

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 22 Apr 87 p 4

[Text] To protect the health of the troops in combat, training, and economic development labor, the Army Sanitation and Epidemic Prevention Institute undertakes research, makes accurate forecasts of the occurrence of disease epidemics, and takes specific steps to prevent, fight, and eliminate the various kinds of disease-causing germs. The Institute has studied and recapitulated the experiences of the past 10 years, prevented an amoebic dysentery epidemic in the Son Tay area (Hanoi) and a meningitis epidemic in Nghe Tinh, and sent cadres to organize movements to kill flies and mosquitos, purify the water supply, collect and treat manure and garbage, and organize the taking of samples from thousands of people doing food service work, serving as army cooks, and working in canteens and day-care centers, and basic-level cadres, so that the bacilli could be cultured and inspected. Those with diseases were actively treated. Permanent teams were organized at the local level and were provided with appropriate medicine. Along with the local hospitals and public health installations, they promptly eliminated the epidemics so that they could not spread. Serving the troops on the battlefields and at the front, and coordinating with the Malaria Institute, it sent cadres, doctors, and technical personnel to the units fighting on the northern border and fulfilling international missions in Laos and Cambodia, to study and prevent epidemics and seek ways to treat and protect the health of the troops. On the basis of the actual situation on the border at Vi Xuyen in Ha Tuyen province, the Institute's cadres cooperated with the specialized organs, the party committees, and the units commanders, and began to do a good job of supplying water, encouraging the troops to maintain personal sanitation and environmental sanitation, and cleaning up living areas. It guided the responsible organs in stepping up their protection of the troops' health and fighting beriberi, malaria, and scabies by effectively using local sources of pharmaceuticals and rear services, along with those supplied by the army and state.

In order to discover and eliminate the epidemic concentrations in a timely manner, it has successfully applied many diagnostic methods of world medicine to specific conditions in the laboratory and in the basic units. It has used new technology, carried out research, effectively applied dozens of scientific research topics, and allied with the state public health installations to successfully produce a number of biological cultures to diagnose diseases, thus saving foreign exchange.

To ensure that the cadres, doctors, and technical personnel are content in serving the troops, the Institute has a policy of giving special treatment to them after they fulfill their missions at the front and on the battlefields by providing material goods, taking health convalescence leave, studying in colleges, and doing research abroad.

DAC LAC CARRIES OUT 3 MAJOR ECONOMIC PROGRAMS

Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 28 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Nguyen Tat Han: "Dac Lac Develops Its Strengths, Carries Out the Three Major Economic Programs"]

[Text] The day after the successful conclusion of the Sixth Party Congress, with a spirit of renovating their thought the party committee and people's committee of Dac Lac Province immediately began drafting, and guiding the implementation of, the three major economic programs set forth by the Sixth Party Congress.

The population of Dac Lac will increase by an estimated 900,000 people, by both natural and mechanical means, by 1990. Most of the labor and land will have to be used to grow short-term and long-term industrial crops and for forestry. The province, however, is still endeavoring to promote production in order to attain a per-capita grain output of 300 kg per year (i.e. the annual grain output will increase by an average of 20,000 to 23,000 tons). In the grain sector, it will pay attention to both rice and subsidiary food crops (primarily corn, sweet potatoes, and manioc). Dac Lac's grain processing industry has long been very weak and some years thousands of tons of subsidiary food crops have been allowed to spoil. Beginning in 1987, therefore, the province will pay attention to investing in developing the processing industry to introduce subsidiary food crops into the daily diet of the people on a wide scale and increase the availability of vegetables and fruit to improve the nutrition and flavor of meals. In addition to developing grain, the land and climate in Dac Lac are suitable for many kinds of industrial crops and livestock to develop food products, so the province will guide the strong development of the growing of mung beans, peanuts, and soybeans, and will accelerate the development of the raising of livestock, poultry, bees, and fresh-water fish in all districts and cities and in the state farms. In the immediate future, in 1987, Dac Lac will receive 12,900 workers and 27,800 other people from the provinces in the Red River Delta and central Vietnam, who will develop the new economic zones, thus increasing the province's population to 750,000. To ensure an average consumption level of 300 kg of grain, this year province is guiding the implementation of important measures to plant 66,100 hectares of grain and 27,100 hectares of subsidiary food crops, and attain a total output of between 220,000 and 225,000 tons. Those measures include every district and city in the province selecting a key

grain production area for the locality. On the basis of having a key grain area, the districts will closely guide and mobilize grain, investment capital, and intensive cultivation guidance to produce a large volume of commodity rice. The province has selected Buon Triet, Buon Trap, and Krong No as the three key grain-growing areas in the province. The province has set up an Assault Youth unit with more than 5,000 members, with contributions of manpower and materiel by the sectors, echelons, and localities, to develop the very great grain-growing potential of those three areas. Dac Lac will also implement the agriculture-forestry or forestry-agriculture modes strongly and according to plan. When conditions permit, the state farms and state forests will endeavor to produce additional grain and food products to provide for themselves sufficient grain for 3 to 4 months and sufficient food products for 5 to 6 months, according to ration standards, by means of both concentrated and dispersed production. In 1987 Dac Lac will increase its grain productivity by 7 percent over 1986; plant 7,000 hectares of mung beans and attain an output of 5,200 tons; plant 16,000 hectares of peanuts and attain an output of 18,000 tons; plant 4,500 hectares of soybeans and attain an output of 4,200 tons; and plant 2,200 hectares of sugarcane and attain an output of 90,000. Animal husbandry will be strongly developed in all three sectors: state, collective, and family. This year the total number of water buffalo and cattle will be increased to 101,500; the total number of hogs will be increased to 208,000 and 6,000 tons of pork will be marketed; 700 tons of fish will be produced; and 25 tons of honey will be produced.

With regard to the consumer goods program, Dac Lac has been in a situation of chronic deficiency for more than 10 years. In 1987 the province has set forth, and is guiding the implementation of, a number of positive measures. First of all, the province will pay attention to ensuring the production of the various kinds of consumer goods made from local raw materials, such as wood, rattan, and bamboo items, rubber, shellac, animal feed, paper and paper pulp, and construction materials. By means of exporting, Dac Lac will import additional raw materials for the consumer products production sector, such as importing chemicals, fibers of all kinds, and steel to produce soap, improved carts, ordinary tools, and textiles. It will encourage the full utilization of waste materials and scrap to recycle plastic, aluminum, glass, and other items. Dac Lac's struggle goals during the 5-year plan period (1986-1990) are to increase by 150-200 percent the value of output of the above-mentioned consumer goods. In the immediate future, in 1987, the province will endeavor to attain a total value of 795 million dong for locally produced consumer goods, including the following principal products: 190,000 hand tools, 3,500 improved carts, 140 tons of nails of all kinds, 70 tons of sheet metal and stainless steel products, 600 tons of soap, 150,000 meters of textiles, 39 million bricks, 8 million tiles, and 500 tons of paper.

In order to attain the goals of the consumer goods production program, Dac Lac province has implemented the policies of the Central Committee and set forth a number of local policies to permit all economic components to produce in the sphere of small industry and handicrafts. The economic components may borrow capital to buy or exploit raw materials, or to operate as subcontracting "satellites" of state enterprises. They also may sign two-way contracts and engage in self-production, and self-consumption within the sphere of state economic management.

To create conditions for increasingly higher productivity, output, and quality with regard to consumer goods, the central and provincial echelons are investing manpower to construct the Nray Hling hydroelectricity project and bring turbine No 1 into operation at the beginning of 1988.

With regard to the export goods policy, Dac Lac is entirely capable of becoming one of the nation's leading export provinces. They have promulgated a policy allowing all economic components to grow coffee, among which the state component plays the leading role. The province will form coffee production alliances between the economic components in the provinces and the other provinces, and will cooperate with the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, and Czechoslovakia to rapidly increase the coffee-growing area in the province to 500,000 hectares by 1990, which will yield between 20,000 and 22,000 tons of coffee beans. In the immediate future, in 1987, Dac Lac will endeavor to plant 4,350 hectares of coffee and harvest 7,045 tons on the existing coffee area, 5,600 tons of which will be turned over to the central echelon for export.

After coffee, Dac Lac's leading crop is rubber. With the slogan of the central and local levels working together to produce rubber, and by means of cooperation and joint operations with other countries, the province will endeavor to increase its rubber area to 35,000 hectares by 1990, bring them into stable operation, and attain a production level of nearly 30,000 tons of dry latex for export. This year the province will plant 1,000 new hectares of rubber and harvest 1,700 tons of dry latex.

Dac Lac, to positively exploit its potential and strengths, is applying many measures to carry out political-ideological motivation and education, investment measures, economic measures, etc., so that by 1990 it can attain the goal of 60 million ruble-dollars worth of exports (a per capita average of 70 rubles-dollars). Thus Dac Lac will be a province which contributes worthily to the nation's exports. At the same time, by means of exports the province will create additional important sources for balancing the food production and consumer goods production programs and for the province's economy in general.

5616

CSO: 4209/485

ARMY NEWSPAPER CALLS FOR INCREASED FOOD OUTPUT

Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 29 Apr 87 pp 1, 4

[Editorial: "Actively Produce Foodstuffs On the Spot"]

[Text] The production of foodstuffs at places where troops are stationed is a permanent task for the troops. Most of the units have made many all-out efforts to produce food for themselves, and nearly all the food they produce is used in the daily meals of the cadres and men. According to incomplete statistics, on the average every year the army produces more than 50,000 tons of grain of all kinds, about 10,000 tons of meat and fresh fish, and 13,000 tons of beans, peanuts, sesame, etc. Especially, the units take the initiative in growing the various kinds of greens producing more than 100,000 tons a year. Some units operating in areas without favorable production conditions still make all-out efforts in cultivation and animal husbandry. The troops stationed on Spratly Islands, who live under severe natural conditions, still actively grow vegetables and raise pigs and chickens. Group N79, which fulfills an international mission in the rugged jungles-and-mountains areas of Cambodia, actively utilizes the land around its camp to grow food and raise livestock in order to meet the annual norms assigned it. In Military Region 1, the Quang Ninh troops, unit X, etc., who are stationed at the front, have constructed fish hatcheries and hog breeding farms with high productivity and good quality, and have begun to meet part of the food needs of the local units.

In addition to the units which do a good job of producing food on the spot, there are still units which do not yet pay adequate attention to cultivation and animal husbandry, or which produce with low productivity. Although they have production conditions, the labor potential of the units and the land, breeding stock, seed stock, and raw materials of the localities have not been fully utilized. There are also units which, because they lack plans and have poor organization achieve only limited results and even suffer losses and cause waste. Experience shows that in the units which do not positively grow crops and raise livestock, or do so ineffectively, the material lives and morale of the cadres and enlisted men not only do not improve but decline.

In our country's difficult economic situation at present, the army units' positive production of foodstuffs on the spot has a practical significance, with regard to improving the material and cultural lives of the troops and

reducing the contributions that must be made by the people. In order to produce effectively, we must not only have a high degree of determination but, equally important, have specific and realistic plans, organization, and methods. Those plans and methods must be based on fulfilling the primary missions of military training, maintaining a high degree of combat readiness, working well, and fully utilizing land, time, and manpower in production. Depending on the specific conditions of each unit, we must combine dispersed, small-scale production with concentrated production on a larger scale. Units fulfilling mobile units at the front, or scattered about in rugged jungles-and-mountains areas, should organize production on a small scale. When conditions permit, units at the regimental level and above may combine dispersed production and concentrated production. To attain high effectiveness and reduce production costs, after determining the organizational form the units should have a plan for investing in developing production, including the bold application of technical advances. Especially, there must be good plant varieties and good livestock breeds. A number of units of Military Region 1 have the good work method of fully utilizing all capabilities of supplying the necessary seedstock, breeding stock, and technical materials on the spot, by means of contracts with the local governmental administration and functional organs. Part of the output must be used to meet ration standards, while the rest must be used to improve the material and cultural lives of the cadres and enlisted men. After food is produced, if there are no plans for processing, it will easily be spoiled and wasted. Appropriate investment in tools and labor for processing will increase the value of production. No matter what the scale of production, and no matter how it is organized, the important matter is still to make careful calculations to ensure real effectiveness, not waste manpower, materials, and money, and ensure effective service to combat readiness and the army's other work.

At present, the entire nation is seethingly participating in the three major economic programs set forth by the Sixth Party Congress. The food production program is receiving special attention. By positively producing food on the spot the army units will contribute practically to the implementation of that major program.

5616

CSO: 4209/485

BETTER EXPORT GOODS SALES PROCEDURES PROPOSED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 30 Apr 87 p 1

[Article by Tran Duc Thin, Municipal Water Conservancy Service: "Methods of Purchasing Export Goods and Agricultural Products"]

[Text] Organization of export goods and agricultural products purchasing is presently still inefficient. Products, from the time they leave the producer until their dispatch to a foreign country, pass through too many intermediate steps; conversely, import goods in reaching the hands of the consumer (a large portion primarily to answer producer requirements) must also travel through a circuitous route. Convertible goods also often fail to meet production support requirements.

Actually at the present time, all the goods purchasing agencies of the state are encountering difficulties in cash. In conjunction with that, because the purchasing passes through too many intermediate steps, negative occurrences easily occur with skimming, excessive accumulation, merchant encroachment, a need for many warehouses and storage yards, and loss of quality as the goods travel their circuitous route. The producer is affected by price pressure and goods stagnation and has no grasp of the value or control of his own products. Accompanying this is a heavy and fragmented circulation of cash.

To assist in resolving this problem, I suggest that foreign trade, import and export agencies study the following measures:

--Production units or producers, after ascertaining the situation and prices at purchasing points (in the provinces, cities, etc.) will personally transport sales goods directly to those locations most beneficial to them. With Decision 80 of the Council of Ministers on eliminating checkpoints, the producer has the right to carry his goods for sale at any location after paying sufficient production or agricultural taxes and settling the two-way economic contracts at the production location.

--Stipulate a specific purchase price for each product with prices constantly readjusted to conform with the market.

--Directly exchange a number of import goods in accordance with requirements for goods of relative value for an exchange that is open and consistent with market prices, if possible, openly stating both the price in dollars, exchange and import goods.

--For those with goods for sale but with no daily need for money or goods exchange, a contract will be written to receive exchange goods after a fixed period, a priority rate of exchange will be stipulated for this method of exchange, and the purchaser is responsible for settlement at the precise time and for ensuring proper goods use in accordance with the contract. Clearly, when confidence has been gained in this method of operations (rapid goods turnaround and settlement on time and in accordance with requirements), foreign trade, export and import agencies will find this form of trade with no need for capital extremely beneficial, and at the same time, this method will simultaneously resolve the difficulties in cash.

Through a formula of goods purchasing and exchange as above (entirely using economic methods while avoiding restrictive administrative methods), the state will benefit first of all by controlling and concentrating goods sources in a fixed number of goods purchasing facilities, reducing intermediate steps, reducing transportation and storage expenses, and solving part of the cash difficulties. The producer will be able to more easily sell his products, prices will not be restricted, goods exchange will be conducted precisely in accordance with requirements, and the value of goods he produces can be controlled. With control of his products, the producer will feel peace of mind and enthusiasm, and will concentrate on investing effort and capital in production.

7300

CSO: 4209/496

1ST QUARTER IMPORT-EXPORT SITUATION EVALUATED

Hanoi NGOAI THUONG in Vietnamese 20 Apr 87 pp 1, 2

[Text] This year, our state clearly publicized the entire state's export norm to be 850 million rubles/dollars comprised of both the exports of the central government and the exports of localities. The rate of increase is lower than in previous years, equal to only 107.1 percent of the level achieved in 1986. To achieve this norm, however, demanded tremendous efforts by sectors, levels, production and business installations, and particularly demanded even more vigorous changes by consolidated management agencies because the economic situation this year is beginning to undergo changes in accordance with the spirit of the resolution of the Sixth Party Congress. So upheavals cannot be avoided and many still seriously imbalanced aspects such as materials, foreign currency, grain and prices-wages-money are not stable.

Life has affirmed that the economy and society will "suffocate" without stepping up exports and imports. Thus, despite numerous difficulties, we are still exhausting all efforts to fulfill the export task in order to have conditions for the importation in return of essential materials and goods for production and life. If figuring the amount of the export value, the first quarter of this year realized approximately 145 million, equal to 17 percent of the plan for the entire year and slightly larger than the first quarter of 1986 (2 percent). This small number still points out the situation as in every year of a "leisurely beginning of the year" so that then there will be hard work at the end of the year. But there is something troublesome which should be reviewed. Of the nine ministries or ministerial-level agencies directly engaged in export, seven achieved a level lower than the first quarter of last year, i.e., a decline, such as the Ministry of Energy which achieved only 31.3 percent, the Ministry of Public Health which achieved 58.8 percent, the Ministry of Engineering and Metals which achieved 66.7 percent, the Ministry of Forestry which achieved 87.6 percent, the Ministry of Light Industry which achieved 94 percent, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industries which achieved 94.1 percent, the Ministry of Foreign Trade which achieved 92 percent compared with the level attained during the first quarter of 1986. Only two agencies, the Ministry of Maritime Products and the Rubber General Department, had an increase compared with the corresponding period last year -- 52.7 percent and 7.1 percent, respectively.

If figured according to the central government export business units, only six units had a greater rate of increase compared with the first quarter last year: SEAPRODEX, 71.4 percent increase; ANIMEX, 56.2 percent; VEGETEXCO, 9.1 percent; TEXTIMEX, 66.7 percent; ARIEXPORT, 7.6 percent; RUBEXIM, 7.1 percent. The remaining 17 units were lower than the first quarter of 1986.

Many important items were mobilized for export at a level higher than the corresponding period last year, such as rubber which increased 5.3 percent; coffee which increased 9.2 percent; peanuts which increased 40 percent; cinnamon which increased 23.5 percent; processed meat, 28.4 percent; canned fruit, 20 percent; and, in particular, sweet potatoes which were a bumper crop this year and therefore exports equaled 3.5 times that of the first quarter of last year, reaching 15,000 tons as of the end of March.

Noteworthy is that there are still many matters regarding business quality which must be discussed, especially implementation of market policies, concentration of important sources of goods in the hands of the state in order to fulfill international commitments, and control of sources of foreign currency between the central government and localities.

Our market policy is to vigorously develop foreign economic relations with fraternal socialist countries. However, because our mechanism is still fraught with many obstacles with even more difficulties in the initial step of the process of change in a number of countries, delaying the signing of specific contracts on a number of items this year, the value of exports to the socialist sector attained only 11.7 percent of the annual plan, down 9 percent compared with the corresponding period last year and accounting for only 43 percent of the gross value attained during the quarter. Exports to the sector outside socialism were higher, accounting for 58 percent of the value, equivalent to 26 percent of the annual plan, and an increase of 12.5 percent compared with the corresponding period. This raises an urgent problem which must be adjusted by both management policy and measures as soon as possible.

The policy of concentrating most of the important items at central in order to have sources of foreign currency to support the country's overall task and to satisfactorily fulfill commitments to socialist countries according to the 70/30 planning mechanism has not been carried out well and, in fact, has developed in reverse. For example, the amount of local exported coffee in the first quarter accounted for 71 percent while central was only 29 percent; peanut products, localities, 79 percent, central, 21 percent; soybeans, localities, 73 percent, central, 27 percent; and so on. Thus, the central export value for the first quarter of this year amounted to only 49 percent while the local export value was more than half as much. Virtually all the strong foreign currency is held by the localities and the objective to concentrate foreign currency from exports outside the socialist sector at central has not been achieved, causing great difficulties in expenditures by means of foreign currency for the central budget.

Local exports during the first quarter reached 74 million dollars (39 million for direct exports and 35 million for entrusted exports), an increase of 36 percent over the first quarter of 1986, and raised the percentage from 38 percent (first quarter of 1986) to 51 percent (first quarter of 1987) of the

overall value of exports. The primary reason for this increase is that central export general corporations lack materials and cash and are entangled with regard to pricing mechanisms during procurement while the localities are capable of more flexibility in business dealings and have sources of materials and goods reserved from 1986 to provide for production and procurement. If the State Planning Commission does not soon correct the mechanism regarding materials, this situation could continue in later quarters, causing many difficulties and complications for fulfillment of export planning. Quantitatively and qualitatively evaluating the status of fulfillment of the export plan for the first quarter of this year, many representatives attending the first quarter review conference felt "the alarm must be sounded." Naturally, alarm no 1 is in order to remind concerned agencies to urgently make corrections and overcome obstacles in hopes of not having subsequent alarms in higher norms. Some representatives felt that, with the situation worse than previous years, general corporations did not sign economic contracts with domestic agencies because they had no money and materials in hand; many localities stated they had inadequate conditions for achieving norms for the delivery of export goods; many production installations demanded implementation of the policy of delivering goods wherever materials are delivered; and so on. Obviously, the objective realities of production and business demand that there be honesty in goods exchange relationships and that planning be closely linked to economic accountability.

The subsidy mechanism in the export-import business must be abolished as soon as possible. The major portion of the value of import goods must be used to compensate for the value of export goods. The relationship between export business units and production units must be a relationship for directly exchanging goods as planned, not indirectly as now through the system of subsidies in materials, prices, etc.

This is the main reason obstructing the export task presently as well as the point for unsnarling it with a view to creating conditions for development.

The import task this year has been assigned with a value more than twice exports because of loans from and joint ventures with socialist countries, including a portion assumed by the Ministry of Foreign Trade amounting to 73 percent and other ministries 27 percent. Miscellaneous items increased 13.3 percent compared with 1986, holding a key role in the production and lives of our people presently. The major portion of import goods from the Soviet Union is machinery, raw materials, and fuel to primarily support fulfillment of grain-food programs, consumer goods, goods processed for export, and key projects.

Import goods during the first quarter of this year were fine, attaining 28 percent of the annual plan, an increase of 13.2 percent compared with the first quarter of 1986 not counting the amount of fertilizer previously given by friends in the fourth quarter of last year to support winter-spring production. In particular, Soviet customers were extremely helpful and delivered goods to us earlier at a 24-percent increase over the corresponding period last year, while we delivered goods to it still very slowly. The ratio of goods delivered between us and the Soviet Union is 1:7.25, higher than the ratio for the corresponding period last year. This reminds us to accelerate

the speed of delivery of export goods to the Soviet Union in the coming months.

Key items such as gasoline, oil, fertilizer, insecticide, iron and steel were fine, reaching a level of 21 to 26 percent of the annual plan. Grain was considerable during the first quarter, attaining 75 percent of the yearly plan and possibly attaining or exceeding the plan for the entire year this April to solve immediate difficulties. However, import items did not uniformly satisfy production needs due to a shortage of foreign currency for the importation of essential items in the capitalist market sector. Many items imported from the Eastern European market in huge volumes of tens of thousands of tons are piling up, awaiting ships for a fairly long time in the ports of Constanza, Varna, and Gdynia, and have not yet been brought here promptly to support production. The primary difficulty is the lack of foreign currency to hire ships to transport the goods here. This situation could cause the quality of a number of import goods to decline, cost additional money for fines and storage, and diminish the friends' enthusiasm to deliver goods to us. This problem is being actively worked on by responsible agencies, but there also must be fundamental, long-term measures so this situation does not recur.

The import effort has problems and difficulties less frequently than exports. Heretofore, goods coming in frequently exceeded the plan norm for each quarter and year. Nevertheless, there also are basic problems arising which must be resolved:

- There must be measures for improving the effectiveness of imported goods, avoiding serious waste such as now, and making imported goods even more vigorously stimulate the production of export goods in order to re-create foreign currency. Only then will imports have conditions for increasing. In these measures we need to give attention to refiguring the selling prices for import goods so they correspond exactly to their value in order to limit waste and the outflow of goods.

- Fraternal socialist countries are changing mechanisms and going into economic accountability in each business unit. On the one hand, we should pay attention to prices and specifications on the quality of goods. On the other hand, we must figure on friends for two-way balanced delivery of goods. If we do not have positive measures for full and precise delivery of goods exported to the friends, then surely our imports from these markets will also have difficulties.

- Meeting the requirement for import goods to be prompt and uniform for production poses the problem of having to have positive measures in order to be able to concentrate the essential amount of foreign currency to import goods from outside the socialist sector and transport them here. The concentration of foreign currency naturally also must be solved by economic measures, guaranteeing the interests of the creator of the foreign currency, not by purely administrative measures.

The first quarter's import-export result has posed very heavy requirements for the export task in the coming quarters. To ensure completion of the 1987 task and satisfactorily support economic programs set forth by the Party Congress,

we must achieve at least 40 to 45 percent of the export norm during the first 6 months of the year. To attain this level, the second quarter export task must increase 30 to 40 percent compared with the level achieved in the first quarter. Units should figure to strive for that level.

Immediate difficulties are considerable, but ministries, sectors, localities, and production and business units have clearly accepted their responsibility and are discussing unsnarling each difficulty and entanglement in order to step up production, concentrate sources of goods, and sign remaining contracts.

While awaiting a new, more complete mechanism, we suggest the State Planning Commission and management agencies urgently discuss creating conditions for production units to have sufficient raw materials and supplies to step up production of export goods and create conditions for export business units to have money, materials, and rationally stipulated price levels to obtain sources of goods.

6915

CSO: 4209/474

MISUSE OF AGRICULTURAL LAND DESCRIBED

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 16 Apr 87 pp 2, 4

[Article by Hoang Hien and Nai Xuan Yen: "Protect, Preserve Agricultural Land—Decrease in Grain Land Should Be Halted Promptly"]

[Text] Thirty districts, provinces, and cities throughout the nation are now investigating the improper allocation and use of agricultural land for nonagricultural purposes. Data from over 50 percent of villages of these localities are available, but the Land Management General Department has already identified 200,000 cases of allocating and using a total of 50,000 hectares of arable land contrary to state policy in the past 6 years (1980-86). During the same period, according to documents gathered by installations and localities while implementing Directive No 299 of the Council of Ministers on measuring, classifying, registering, and tallying land nationwide, wet rice land had diminished by 370,000 hectares—equal to the wet rice acreage of the three provinces of Thanh Hoa, Nghe Tinh, and Binh Tri Thien combined. The largest and fastest reduction rates were recorded, in order of magnitude, in the Mekong River delta and Bac Bo delta.

The shrinking of arable land, including grain tracts, has not halted; worse still, it has shown signs of aggravating. In the past 10-plus years, however, land reclamation has not been able to make up for that decrease. Since the population rose each year, per capita grain land went down. This is a difficulty which affects directly the food problem confronting society. The question is: "Why does agricultural land, especially grain land, continue to shrink?"

Grant Land At Will

The General Department of Land Management and State Inspection indicates that agricultural land shrinkage lies primarily in erratic allocation. Seventy percent of the 200,000 violations of land management policy stemmed from improper grants. It can be said that many echelons and places have distributed land "at will."

In 1985, the Nam Thanh district people's committee (Hai Hung) parceled out 1.5 hectares of cultivated (two-crop) land in Ai Quoc Village to eight district organs for office building and other purposes. Likewise, Bo De Village in Gi

Lam District (Hanoi) distributed 19,079 sq m of arable land to 119 households and 2,509 sq m to 36 others to build homes. Of these recipients, 16 already received state housing prerequisites inside the city, 3 sold their lots to others, and 7 owned housing and land in other villages. Municipal land management officials said that beneficiaries included those working in Hanoi City and Gia Lam District, an economic organ chief, and even dishonest traders.

In auditing 6 villages in 6 districts, Haiphong City uncovered 928 misallocations by district echelons totaling 31 hectares and 1,299 misallocations by village echelons with 45 hectares.

Decision No 201 of the Council of Ministers authorizes provincial and municipal people's committee chairmen to allocate less than 2 hectares of agricultural land for nonagricultural purposes. That decision was circumvented by some localities by "cunningly" dividing their projects into smaller plots not exceeding 2 hectares, thus "placing themselves on the side of the law."

In many places, the grants were described in building permits or decisions as a mix of ponds, lakes, and unreclaimed tracts; in fact, they were arable land. Some building projects applied for land with no advance planning, designs, and economic and technical estimates, thus exposing themselves to the costly risk of rebuilding after completion.

Some localities even devised new rules on assigning and recovering land in violation of state laws. For instance:

--The Lang Son provincial people's committee issued official Letter No 457 on 2 November 1984 delegating the authority of allocating agricultural land for nonagricultural purposes to district people's committees and sectors.

--The Dong Thap provincial people's committee issued Decision No 539 QD/UB on 1 October 1984 authorizing its district counterparts to allocate land to build public projects and business installations not exceeding 5,000 sq m.

--The Nghia Binh provincial people's committee issued Directive No 54 CT/UB on 18 October 1983 empowering agricultural cooperatives to allocate new residential land.

Some district officials continued to sign decisions to grant and recover land although they had no authority of doing so.

Land Grabbing

A currently widespread phenomenon is that many localities have enlarged the land which has been assigned to them legally—a practice long known as land grabbing.

The Council of Ministers allocated 102 hectares in the Dong Giao (Ha Nam Ninh) state farm to a centrally-operated hog-breeding farm. The latter seized an

additional 200 hectares, part of which was granted to 146 households of cadres, workers, and civil servants to build homes. But the residential project had received no official approval in planning.

Ha Nam Ninh turned 19,200 sq m of land in Thanh Hai Village (Thanh Lien) into residential lots for 64 households. Taking advantage of the provinces's decision to allocate land, Thanh Lien District snatched 12,418 sq m, to which Thanh Hai Village and the "users" added 15,281 and 15,982 sq m, respectively. Thus, the initial provincial land grant—less than 2 hectares—has grown into 6 hectares at the hands of four levels—province, district, village, and user.

According to regulations, a building project to the south of Thang Long Bridge was allocated 49.5 hectares of land (11 for long-term use and 38.5 for temporary use, which it was required to return to the host village upon completion). The project arrogated to itself another 34.8 hectares. And although it was completed long time ago, it has balked at returning both the temporary and annexed land.

In the past 5-6 years dozens, even hundreds, of central and municipal organs have diverted 500-600 hectares of arable land in Tu Lien District (Hanoi) to capital construction. Local district and village officials said that all these organs engaged in land grabbing.

This is land grabbing by organs. In the countryside, the practice of peasants "gnawing at" collective land is rather widespread.

Wasteful Use of Land

Our visits to the provinces of Ha Bac, Hai Duong, Haiphong, Thai Binh, and Ha Nam Ninh, and the probe of improper land grants reveal two current tendencies in land utilization.

First, while grabbing land next to their homes and turning arable land into new residential areas, the producers have made the most of all tiny plots along highways—even loose earth coming from digging—to plant rice, vegetables, and potatoes. It can be said that all pieces of suitable land—even those measuring 5-7 meters in width—are used for production purposes.

Second, in building material and technical bases and developing economic sectors it is necessary to divert agricultural land to capital construction, but the process of planning, selecting building sites, and using agricultural land has frequently and commonly led to waste. The popular adage that the best building locations are—in order of importance—those close to markets, rivers, and highways, still holds true. In fact, the selection of sites for building organs, enterprises, etc., usually focuses on areas bordering towns and cities and along land and water routes. In these very areas, agricultural land has decreased at a fast pace. The integration of villages and districts also gave rise to serious waste of land. Guided by irrational estimates on building capital, unrealistic designs and plans, and murky economic concepts of land utilization, quite a few projects hurriedly took possession of the

land to begin construction work; others, however, let the grass grow under their feet 2-3 years. Ten years have passed since a brick-and-tile production project in Ho Chi Minh City was apportioned 600 hectares, but the land still remains idle. Of 2.7 hectares, Hoc Mon District Hospital put only 0.7 hectare to use, condemning the remainder to barrenness. A foreign trade organ in Nha Be District got 24 hectares but used only 10.

Lax central and local guidance of building projects in the communications and water conservancy sectors has led to waste—about 20-30 percent above economic and technical standards. Nineteen organs stationed in Dong Hai Village consumed 40 hectares on top of a land grant of 41.5 hectares.

Preliminary findings in Ha Nam Ninh indicate that 61 organs squandered a total of 92 hectares of arable land. In Hai Hung, ditches built long ago in the Bac-Hung-Hai irrigation system, tens of kms in length and 40-50 meters in width, were not put into commission.

One of the new population centers set up by some localities was called by the people "a village for mandarins and provincial big shots." In An Hai District, people took it upon themselves to build new hamlets, dubbing them "hamlets of those who have guts." In 5 years (1981-85) in the Bac Bo delta alone, residential areas had increased by 40,000 hectares. The soil must contain nutrients to sustain abundant plant growth. But the production of building materials—making bricks and tiles, operating lime-kilns, and extracting minerals—has deprived thousands of hectares of rice land of these ingredients, harming agricultural production in the process.

In areas around cities and along communications lines, installations and state organs frequently use land as a purchasable, saleable, and barterable commodity. A survey by the Land Management General Department in 14 provinces and cities uncovers 20,000 cases of purchasing, selling, and bartering land amounting to 2,000 hectares. Worse yet, some village administrations even allow private traders to purchase or sell land in order to collect "fees." Not only does the practice of land purchase, sale, and barter cause direct and immediate harm, but it also defiles the ranks of local managerial cadres and disrupts social management.

Main Causes

Land is a special means of production and is owned by the people. Management of that special property encompasses the three fields of ideological indoctrination, economic management, and administrative management—a regular task that rests on the shoulders of management organs, organizations, or individual users. In recent years, negative and abnormal phenomena have tainted the managerial system unremittingly due to the following common causes:

First, various echelons, sectors, and units do not value "an inch of land as an inch of gold," failing to respect the soil and to understand thoroughly the need to assert the people's right to collective ownership of land in the new production formula. That explains why they are reluctant to disseminate state

policies and regulations on land. And just because they have trouble understanding land policies thoroughly and steadily, their managerial skills become sluggish, negative phenomena prevail, and are not thwarted effectively, thus weakening the effort to consolidate and perfect production relationships in the rural areas.

Second, in the past 20-plus years, over 200 texts, policies, and laws relating directly to land management have been issued by the state. That total does not include local policies and regulations. Some of these worked truly well, acting as a stimulus to put land management and utilization in order and develop production. But they also experienced problems arising from overlapping, contradictions, or backwardness coupled with attempts to delay changes. To remove these snags, the localities were compelled to devise new regulations, thereby heading toward a situation in which each locality had its own way of doing things and following its own rules.

Third, managerial skills in general, and those dealing with land control in particular, are flimsy at the district and basic levels, unable to solve new problems and perform land management duties—delegating managerial authority, conducting management on the basis of sectors and territories, and understanding fully each article and paragraph of the laws on land control in order to prosecute offenses effectively.

Fourth, the land management apparatus from the district down to basic levels has improved slowly, grass-roots professional cadres were scarce or were unfit to be the new man, to implement state policies, and to do managerial work.

Cadres and Party Members Set Example in Land Utilization

To protect and preserve agricultural land, especially grain land, many places, guided by a clear understanding that it was urgent to improve land management and utilization, have set policies and procedures to work in a creative manner, devising successful ways to carry out ideological indoctrination, economic management, and administrative management. In some model places, that effort was focused on linking production organization with measuring, classifying, registering, and tallying land and with managing land in keeping with Decision No 201 of the Council of Ministers. Instances of land grabbing, misuse, and waste of land were catalogued and steps were taken to identify user units and individuals.

In general, land management delivered the goods in places where cadres and party members respected the laws by granting and recovering land properly. Transfers of agricultural land to nonagricultural use were discussed collectively, openly, and democratically along with clear-cut plans, designs, and economic estimates on land utilization in compliance with state regulations.

As a matter of fact, places with outstanding performances on land management are still scarce and scattered. Restitutions to the collective are insignificant, compared with losses, and the use of land contrary to purposes and policies still prevails alarmingly in many places—a practice that should be thwarted.

HO CHI MINH CITY MARKET ENCOUNTERS NEW PROBLEMS

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 21 Apr 87 pp 1, 2

[Article by Le Tien Tuyen: "One Month After Abolishing Transportation Route Checkpoints: New Challenges Arise for Socialist Trade Sector"]

[Text] Nearly a month after implementing Decision 80 of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, the municipal market has developed along an active course: and the volume of goods reaching the city has increased. The prices of many agricultural and food products such as rice, sugar, green beans, vegetables and fruit, fuel, etc. have halted at a stable level or have declined. The effect of this decision on life has been relatively swift and has received the praise and enthusiasm of the people. In one direction however--that of the organized market--the changes have not been so favorable. According to a report from the municipal trade sector, the business volume of ward and district state-operated trade units during the first week of April (from 1 to 7 April) declined by 60 million dong from the previous week. The municipal cooperative trade sector also had a decline of 67 million dong. The marketing business volumes of vegetables, fruit, fresh fish, eggs, monosodium glutamate, sauces, charcoal, etc. all were lower than previously. Notice 12 of the Municipal Trade Service asserted that "During the first week of April, ward and district trade activities declined. A number of agricultural products such as hogs, vegetables, eggs and monosodium glutamate have been sold at a slower rate because the state-operated trade price is higher than the market price."

The Irrationality of Trade Surplus...

A director of a ward level municipal trade corporation with a fairly large sales volume confided to us, "Previously, we specialized in contracts to purchase copra in the provinces and return it for sale to production units. We purchased it for not quite 100 dong per kilogram and sold it for 120 dong. This was both beneficial and renowned for 'selling to support production.' However, after the 'ports were opened,' the production units would no longer buy from us. Merchants carried goods all the way to the factories and sold them for only 100 dong per kilogram!"

"Not only selling but also buying has encountered difficulties," Duong Quoc Hung, Deputy Director of the 5th Precinct Municipal Trade Corporation, told

us. The corporation is assigned a mission of packing and distributing local small industry and handicraft goods. After the "ports were opened," merchants traveled all the way to the basic production units, made advance payments, wrapped up the goods and carried them off. State-operation traders must go through many procedures and steps before a purchase can be made. What is the reason for this contrary "loss?" Seeking understanding at many trade units, we noted one reality: that trade surplus (expenditures and profits) accounts for too large an amount of the business volume. In fact, according to the stipulated principle, the activities of state-operated trade must ensure at least 8 percent of the combined profit index (in the total business volume), including 3.5 percent expenditures, 2.5 percent net profit, and 1.5 percent state-operation collection. The business association area must bear from 9 percent and up (3.5 percent net profit, 4 percent taxes(!), and 1.5 percent expenditures). Each product purchased and sold must ensure the indexes above. Meanwhile, merchants make a small percentage of profit in sales so the rotation is fairly rapid and profits are high although their combined profit percentage per product is extremely low (for many goods 5 to 7 times lower than the surplus of trade units).

Previously, many people made a simple calculation comparing the original price (in the provinces) with the peak price (in the city) of goods such as fresh fish, vegetables and fruit, charcoal, etc., and noted a strange phenomena: the price of a stere of firewood cut and hauled from Dong Nai and Long Khanh to the city was double the price at the edge of the forest; the price of 1 kilogram of freshwater goby or of saltwater fish transported from Thuan Hai to the city had a difference of 5 to 6 times, etc. Where in this difference does the profit lie? It can be stated that a large portion falls to the sector business corporations. Worthy of mentioning is that these corporations lack sufficient strength to conduct all procurement, grasp the wholesale operations or control retail sales: but other corporations and units encounter difficulties when they want to "jump" in. A merchant transporting goods is heavily taxed. Fresh delicious fish must be dried and made into sauce while shortages exist elsewhere. The stagnation of watermelon during the recent lunar new year holiday is a specific proof.

After implementing Decision 80, the situation was reversed: the interchange of goods was expanded and the heaven and earth difference between the original and the peak prices no longer existed. Goods sector corporations were confused. Decision 80 exposed many weaknesses of socialist trade: a mechanism of heavy management and little return. The social market is a united bloc but an organized market is divided, split and partial, preventing normal goods circulation and creating price differences between one location and another. This is not counting the cumbersome management mechanism and crowded ranks of indirect laborers (usually comprising 15 to 20 percent of the total number of cadres, workers and civil servants), not one with a thorough understanding of business. Even in the business association area, there are presently about 10,000 stockholders but up to 4,000 cadres and workers engaged in direct and indirect management. Wages and other expenses are too great, pushing up retail prices in the business association stores. Socialist trade has not yet manifested a guiding role in the market on business operations nor the rate of market occupation.

Demands of Reality

The municipal market is presently stabilizing. The problem we must examine is that this stabilization is not an inherent nature within itself. The critical problem presented is that the trade sector must rise to effective activity suited to the new situation and to its guidance role.

After Decision 80, many retail sales trade units were "forced" to reduce the prices of a number of goods in comparison with a price framework. The Trade Service officially informed units to reexamine their retail prices: "If retail prices are high, they must be reduced lower than the market price." Food Corporation 1 lowered the price of hogs to 10 dong per kilogram and is reexamining the retail price. The Tan Binh Market Corporation reexamined its apparatus, reduced its indirect labor force, strengthened its retail sales network and conducted in depth association with other units in order to control goods from their source. The 5th Precinct People's Committee has instituted a more positive procedure: allowing trade and service corporations to eliminate combined profits and to only assign a stable budget payment index in accordance with the percentage of business volume. With this procedure, units can take the initiative in reducing prices and profits for each product or self-direct the price during each suitable period of the season. This method has two advantages: it is possible to struggle flexibly with the market mechanism and any corporation can engage in effective operations with much profit due to skilled business management direction and not a monopolistic mechanism. However, the changes above are only an initial step and bear a partial nature. A strong change is necessary in the management mechanism as well as in the business formula of each unit before a trade sector can hope to achieve firm success in the present violent struggle between two markets.

7300

CSO: 4209/496

REGULATIONS ENACTED ON ENTRY, EXIT OF VIDEO EQUIPMENT

Hanoi NGOAI THUONG in Vietnamese 20 Mar 87 p 2

[Article by Nguyen Ngoc Hieu, Customs General Department: "Some New Stipulations on Managing Importation and Exportation of Videotape Recorders and Videotapes Through Non-commercial Channels"]

[Text] The importation and exportation of videocameras and videotapes through non-commercial channels has become more and more prevalent in recent years. There are many cases of non-compliance with the state's import-export regulations. A number of sectors at the central and local levels as well as a number of individuals have either used them for personal convenience or secretly sold them to benefit from the difference in the price of videocameras and videotapes imported from abroad. The foregoing situation has caused many ill effects economically, politically, and ideologically.

To carry out Directive No 338/CT dated 22 October 1985 from the chairman of the Council of Ministers in order to make a positive contribution to managing and using videocameras and videotapes domestically, on 12 January 1987, the Ministry of Culture and the Customs General Department issued Joint Circular No 045/TTLB-VH-HQ which stipulates the principles and procedures for importing and exporting videocameras and videotapes through non-commercial channels. This circular contains a number of key items below:

I. Some General Stipulations

A complete set consists of a camera, a video, and a television. Separate items are a camera or a video or a television. The videotape can either be recorded or blank. All are types of goods in which the state uniformly manages the exit and entry. Thus:

1. Only the Ministry of Information and the Ministry of Culture may import videocameras and videotapes according to the plan approved annually by the Council of Ministers for the needs of agencies belonging to the radio broadcasting and television network as well as those belonging to the cultural sector, localities, sectors, and other organizations.

2. Vietnamese agencies, groups, and individuals, and foreign agencies and individuals living in Vietnam that bring videocameras and recorded videotapes into Vietnam or take them abroad must adhere to the specific stipulations cited in the following part.

3. Blank tape is on the list of goods in which the state holds a business monopoly and, when imported, must be sold to cultural agencies at the price stipulated in the Council of Ministers' Directive No 202/HDBT dated 10 July 1985. And it is a type of good which is prohibited from exportation in non-commercial channels.

4. Every act of illegal importation and exportation of videocameras and videotapes shall be prosecuted in accordance with customs regulations and the existing laws of the state.

II. Some Specific Stipulations On The Importation and Exportation of Videocameras and Videotapes Through Non-commercial Channels

1. Vietnamese agencies, groups, and individuals, and foreign agencies and individuals that import videocameras and import and export recorded videotapes through non-commercial channels must:

a. Fill out an application to be sent to the cultural and information service of the province, municipality, or special zone directly subordinate to the central government (hereafter called province for short) requesting permission to import a complete set or separate machines.

For the entry and exit of recorded videotapes, one must take the tapes to the Ministry of Culture or provincial cultural agency for review of the contents.

After the cultural agency issues the permit, it must be shown to provincial customs for issuance of another permit for non-commercial importation of a complete set or separate machines and recorded videotapes, or a permit for the non-commercial exportation of recorded videotapes.

2. For foreigners permitted to enter Vietnam and overseas Vietnamese permitted to visit their homeland who bring along a videocamera and videotapes to use while staying in Vietnam, these types of goods are considered to be temporarily imported goods and therefore fall into the category of goods which must be re-exported. When leaving, they must also take out the exact number, brand name, model, and serial number declared upon entry. Temporary importation and re-exportation of videocameras and recorded videotapes are exempt from the customs agency's permit, exempt from taxes, and exempt from customs fees. Recorded videotape must go through the cultural agency for inspection. If the contents of the recorded tape do not violate the five broadcast disciplines of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam state, they may be used. If the recorded videotape is not in keeping with the Vietnam situation, the cultural agency will temporarily hold the tape at port of entry and return it upon the guest's departure from Vietnam.

For international organizations and foreign diplomatic representations in Vietnam, if permission is received to use the type of recorded tape which is not in keeping with Vietnam, it must abide by Vietnam's rules and regulations on the use of recorded videotape. If the recorded tape's content is political and in opposition to Vietnam's revolutionary line, it will be confiscated.

In addition, one must comply with the following conditions:

a. Upon entry, one must clearly and specifically declare on the baggage declaration sheet the brand name, model, serial number, country of manufacture, number and content of recorded videotapes and have the custom's certification at port of entry.

b. When leaving, one must re-export the exact videocamera and recorded videotapes in the exact number certified by customs on the declaration form at the port of entry upon arrival.

3. Tourists, specialists, people of foreign nationality, and overseas Vietnamese visiting their homeland who buy videocameras and recorded videotape from Vietnam's state stores where they are sold to obtain foreign currency (clearly indicating the full name of the purchaser, the brand name, model, serial number, etc.) may take them out upon departure exempt from taxes and without a permit from the cultural agency but with the immediate issuance of an exit permit from customs. Recorded videotape must be taken to the cultural agency for examination of the contents and for issuance of the permit and seal by provincial customs prior to customs at the port granting exit.

With the exception of the two circumstances stipulated in points 2 and 3 above, non-commercial export of complete sets or separate items is prohibited.

3. [as published] In every case of non-commercial entry of blank videotape, even though there is no need to request prior permission from the cultural agency, one must adhere to the customs procedures of port customs and must still take them to the cultural agency as stated in the foregoing part.

4. Port customs only:

a. Allows non-commercial entry of complete sets or separate items, and allows non-commercial exit of recorded videotape in exact accordance with the provincial customs' non-commercial entry-exit permit.

b. Allows entry according to the entry and exit permit issued by the Ministry of Foreign Trade: complete sets or separate items or accessories and blank videotape, or the exit and entry of the recorded videotape of the television station and Ministry of Culture recorded in the state's import-export plan approved by the Council of Ministers.

c. Should the above types of goods for exit or entry not conform to the permit, or the permit is not in order, the port customs will not permit exit or entry and instead will prepare a report and temporarily hold the items pending the view of the customs agency at a higher level.

III. Customs Procedures

Persons with the aforementioned types of goods upon exit and entry must:

1. Adhere fully to the customs procedures with port customs.
2. Fully execute every decision of the port customs such as:
 - All conditions for entry or exit.
 - Report to the state cases of overstepping stipulations (or the cultural agency not permitting entry).
 - Must sell to the state all blank videotape.
 - Must pay taxes on non-commercial import-export goods if the value of the goods exceeds the level for tax exemption.
 - Confiscate types of goods which are forbidden entry or exit by the state or which have entered or exited illegally, etc.

After following customs procedures for the exit and entry of videocameras and videotapes, provincial customs will issue a "certificate for goods having completed customs procedures" in order to register use with the cultural agency.

3. The provincial cultural agency only examines for registration of use complete sets or separate items and recorded videotapes on the basis of the "certificate for goods having completed customs" issued by the provincial customs.

6915

CSO: 4209/474

NEED TO FIGHT SMUGGLING DISCUSSED

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 16 Apr 37 p 3

[Article by Hoang Chinh, Quang Nam-Da Nang: "While Easing Commodity Flow, We Should Fight Smuggling and Destruction of State Property"]

[Text] The decision of the chairman of the Council of Ministers to eliminate control stations along communication lines was implemented urgently and effectively by many localities. It was acclaimed by people everywhere for contributing to moving goods faster and efficiently and easing traffic snarls.

We note, however, that while implementing that decision, many localities have failed to disseminate and explain it properly to the people, especially concerned cadres. This has led to lax market management, erratic business transactions, and huge tax losses for the state. Many localities have had difficulty carrying out that decision. Although the state has loosened controls circulation, it has not published a complete list of commodities on which private trading is banned, thus creating conditions for evil elements to transport illegal goods openly; worse still, others went into forests to cut trees and saw timber at will, seriously damaging forestland.

We know that in Quang Nam-Da Nang many registered traders--120 of whom lived in Hoa Vang--have returned their business licenses to the state before engaging in smuggling--a way to escape control. True, only four commodities were banned--explosives, illicit drugs, decadent cultural products, and state-controlled imports. But what about the circulation of cinnamon, garu-wood, and lumber? Since timber circulation was not prohibited, local woodlands were being destroyed with a vengeance. Railroad cars and automobiles were all carrying timber and trucks were seen stopping everywhere to pick up logs. In many localities, including Ha Bac and Lang Son, the same practice of erratic transportation of timber prevailed, with many people cutting trees for sale without control.

In our opinion, local CPV committee echelons and administration officials should send out inspection teams to look into the situation and find ways to overcome these aberrations promptly. It is impossible for the people's forestry sector not to guide lower echelons to comply with the law on protecting forests, from exploiting and transporting to purchasing and selling timber. The tax sector should take steps to abide by the finance minister's

guiding circular, collect taxes according to state regulations, fight speculators, hoarders, and smugglers vigorously, and implement the regulation of the Council of Minister chairman correctly.

In airing the above problems, we hope that they will be addressed properly and that under no circumstances will we revert to measures to impede the commodity flow and confine the marketplace within administrative boundaries.

9213/13104

CSO: 4209/484

STRENGTHENING RULE OF LAW URGED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 9 Apr 87 pp 1, 2

[Text] As workers in the legal field, we are extremely heartened to see the Political Report at the Sixth National Party Congress clearly define the role of socialist laws among the forthcoming directions and tasks: "We must use the power of socialist laws in combination with that of mass opinion to fight against the violations by Party committee members of every echelon from above down; we must constantly guide the legal work, bring up the number of quality and capable cadres in the legal field, and closely monitor the activities of the legal organs.

The Congress resolution affirms once again: "to increase socialist legality and manage society through the rule of law."

Probably no one has dared claim that there is no need for legislation in socio-economic management and this necessity has been mentioned again and again in almost revolution taken by Party organizations of every echelon: one must increase socialist legality and manage society through the rule of law. Yet in actuality, "negative phenomena have developed in society, social justice is violated, the laws and discipline rules are lax, and the abuses of power and corrupt practices of a number of cadres and government personnel, as well as the activities of illegal elements, have not been punished severely or in a timely fashion."

Thus, "the above situations have diminished the people's faith towards the Party and the state." (Political Report of the Sixth National Party Congress)

It can be said that at the present time we do not yet have a progressive and perfected legal system responsive to the changing requirements of the Party and protective of the legitimate rights of the people. Socialist legislation means the institutionalization of the Party's policies and advocated lines and it must express the will of the people but our present laws are still showing the heavy weight of models and patterns dating back to the bureaucratic and echelon bracketing age; thus, to a certain extent they obstruct and limit the process of change. Such legislation cannot promote its function of serving management and it does not encourage people to implement the principle of "living and working in accordance with the Constitution and the laws."

On the other hand, one must admit that we have not yet fully seen the necessity of managing society through the rule of law, we have not paid enough attention to the question of increasing socialist legality. Many state and economic management cadres have a poor understanding of the law. It is because of this that negative phenomena have developed bearing an adverse affect on the people's right of mastership.

In particular, there is the situation of lower levels not carrying out the decisions of the upper echelons and it is a widespread phenomenon that many sentences have not been carried out despite their having been pronounced. It is also because we have not given adequate attention to the system of management based on the laws and through the rule of law that in many localities, the various Party organizations and the authorities have put inept cadres lacking in professional skills in charge of the legal work, thus resulting in weak legal organs unable to serve as a staff organ to the Party committees and to the authorities in the matter of legal work. In our court work we have only paid attention to the Party qualifications of the presiding judges, we have not paid attention to their professional skills; we have elected a number of presiding judges who have not undergone any legal training or who have spent a necessary amount of time in the profession, thus failing to insure the requirements of the trial process and failing to protect the rights of the people.

Based on the above and with the aim of realistically serving the increase in social legality, we would like to propose the following:

1. The state should rapidly strengthen and perfect the legal organs, increase the level of guidance and monitoring of these organs, especially those directly related to the rights of the people.
3. It should rapidly perfect the legal system, eliminate those regulations causing difficulties to the basic units in production and business, and change the administrative procedures that are still creating a lot of complications for the people (for instance, one cannot register past a certain deadline in the case of marriage and birth certificates).
3. It should increase the formation and inservice training of cadres in legal work who on the whole are still too few and poorly equipped, especially those cadres working at the grassroots level. One must implement the motto of "real red and profoundly skilled" in the case of every legal cadres, especially those in the public security, court, juridical control and inspection sectors.
4. From now on, we must resolutely refuse to appoint unskilled, unprofessional and inept cadres to responsible positions in charge of legal organs; we must not elect to the position of presiding judge those comrades untrained in legal matters or not having at least 5 years of service in the legal field. One must rapidly project a contingent of presiding judges that by 1990 or a few years after that date at the latest would consist only of those college trained in legal studies so that those who do not gather enough conditions in their area of specialization would not have a chance to continue serving.

5. We should perfect the training of cadres in charge of legal sector work in accordance with Ministerial Decision 178 of the Council of Ministers so that they can second the unit directors in managing according to the rule of the law. The legal cadres in various sectors are responsible for uncovering those regulations of upper echelons that still restrict and bind too tightly the basic units in production and business so that they can propose that they be eliminated, changed or complemented.

6. We must pay attention to taking care of the material and spiritual living standard of the cadres working in legal organs, especially those directly related to the interests of the people, for this particular sector does not carry any welfare benefits besides the official salaries.

To truly express the viewpoint of considering "the people as the foundation," together with helping develop production and taking care of the people's living standard, we must also respect and guarantee the legitimate interests of the people.

That is also a way to regain the faith of the people in the Party and state.

1751/13104
CSO: 4209/450

SOLUTIONS PROPOSED FOR DECLINE IN QUALITY OF EDUCATION

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 1 May 87 pp 1,2

[Article by Huynh Van Tong and Le Vinh Quoc: "Why the Decline in Quality of Education?"]

[Text] Over the past, colleges have expended very great efforts, and great achievements have been recorded. On the other hand, especially in recent years, it has been easy to see that the quality of education in colleges has been low and continues to decline, as indicated in the evaluation of the Fifth Party Congress: "The biggest problem today is the decline in quality of education." (Footnote 1) ("Political Report at the Fifth Party Congress") It is a big problem and in no way a simple thing to clearly uncover the causes of this situation and come up with measures for improving it. Nevertheless, if we single out the education of middle school students, we can temporarily answer the question: "Why is the quality of middle school education declining more and more each day?"

The first cause is the policy for selecting students. The practice of dividing examination candidates into many categories with many different passing scores, previously often with very great differences, eliminated some capable candidates and admitted many inferior individuals in their place (here we are not speaking of the need for this policy in specific historical circumstances). The policy of selecting students "on the basis of address" in use over the past few years, in which localities and large centers are allocated separate quotas for selection, with the result that some passing scores were much lower than those at large centers (such as Ho Chi Minh City), further contributed to the rejection of more capable students (this time not due to background, but to home address). Moreover, a number of candidates who had not passed examinations were put into college preparation courses in order to enter college the next year directly, without having to take entrance exams. While the quotas for student selection were always limited, the above policies (although there could have been appropriate reasons for them) caused the schools to select few capable and outstanding candidates; the majority of those selected were only the better among the poor. In particular, passing scores for entry into teachers' college were much lower than those for other schools, lowering the quality of training for instructors in general middle schools and influencing the quality of education in general middle schools, where students are prepared for college entrance.

With such student selection results, it is hard for colleges to raise the quality of education.

College students are faced with many difficulties in the course of their college studies. There are shortages in every type of teaching aid. Schools lack textbooks and all types of reference materials, lack new scientific information, and lack mechanical equipment and experimental models of every type. Such activities as practical exercises, experiments, applications, and field trips are reduced to the minimum due to insufficient facilities and funds. Extremely drab student dormitories, lacking minimal conveniences, are being built; even desks and classrooms are inadequate for teaching.

Yet the greatest problem for students is still daily life. Nearly all students are issued an allowance, but no one could live for a month on an amount of money equivalent to two bowls of soup added to the amount of rice subsidized by the state. The majority of students must rely on family help--with the majority of the families poor--for the two daily extremely frugal meals of the dormitory, and there are even instances of insufficient means to obtain those two meals regularly. Some students must seek various other means of employment, including many overly exhausting jobs and very undesirable work. So how much time, strength, and ability do they have left for studies and for "grey matter"?--and how can the character of the future intellectual not be affected?

The effects of war and the demands of revolution and common ethics call for programs of preferential treatment for students who are children of fallen veterans or who are themselves wounded veterans and some others who are eligible for benefits. Yet in reality the programs that they participate in cannot guarantee a livelihood for them. It should perhaps be added here that college programs give preference to students on benefits by allowing them to pass college entrance examinations, pass to advanced courses, and even graduate with scores lower than those generally required. Giving preference means lowering academic standards. It is clear that this practice contributes to lowering the quality of education for those shown preference and damages the morale of others, which leads to bad effects for society.

One great problem bothering students is the question of what their future will be like after graduation. They have seen that future in instructors, engineers, doctors, and experimental scientists who are presently in service, and principally in the teachers who are in direct contact with them in the college setting. These are persons who live in the most difficult circumstances of society today.

The income of intellectuals today is very low compared to that of ordinary laborers, to say nothing of persons pursuing illegitimate ways of life.

Monthly wages and allowances of college faculty cadres with all titles and degrees certified by the state are only equivalent to those received by peddle-cab drivers or streetside mechanics, who do not have to have college degrees. That future cannot be a source of encouragement for students to overcome difficulties and study diligently. (Here we are not yet touching on the problem how difficulties of daily life influence the quality of teaching for instructors, a key cause of decreased quality of education for students.) The two complementary situations together make teacher and students familiar with each, which creates wider and wide discrepancies between student scores and their true level of achievement. Meanwhile, injustices and shortcomings

out in society and right in the school constantly erode the students' will to progress in studies.

Among the factors contributing to decline in the quality of education among students, mention must also be made of the existence of the tendency to separate political and ideological work from the central mission of the school, which is teaching and learning, a number of things are still imperfect in the methods of organizing the regulation of teaching and studies, there are shortcomings in the content and methods of teaching, and the administrative structure is still burdened with bureaucratic subsidies. These are very big problems which we are not yet capable of addressing more specifically.

So what can we do to counter the decline in quality of education for students? First of all, there must be a "reform of the testing system...along the lines of insuring quality and fairness" (Footnote 2) ("Political Report at the Sixth Party Congress"), as clearly pointed out at the Sixth Party Congress. The fatherland has been completely liberated for 12 years, which means that a complete generation of students in the schools of general education have received a complete cycle of education from 1st to 12th level in the new school and have begun submitting applications for college entrance examinations. Is it not time we were able to "renovate thinking" about the matter of student selection? If it is established that the practice of dividing candidates into a multitude of categories cannot be terminated, positive measures are needed for reducing the dividing lines between categories with the aim of gradually lessening differences between passing scores in different subjects, until there is only one passing score for selection by a particular school. The policy of selecting students "on the basis of address" solves the problem of students from the city who abandon their duty when assigned work out in localities, but it lowers the quality of student selection as stated above, and leads to a situation of differentiating nationwide college standards to form "local college standards" that are different from each other and usually lower than the general level. It contributes to stopping the development of the influence that cultural and scientific and technical centers (such as Ho Chi Minh City) have on localities which have little possibility of further development. It also increases "localism," which is very detrimental to the development of a unified nation moving up to socialism. For these reasons, selection of students "on the basis of address" should perhaps not be considered a long-term policy, and the problem of students deserting their posts should be solved in another way. Additionally, there must be measures for selecting students of high caliber for entrance to teacher's college.

Nevertheless, the orientation to "increase investments in science and technology from many different sources" (Footnote 3) ("Political Report at the Sixth Party Congress") is still the most basic factor for improving the quality of education, aimed at comprehensively expanding the material base for the school and urgently changing the policy of treatment for intellectuals and students. According to the formula "the state and people working together," we must perhaps initiate a "fund for college aid," determining within it the proportion to be contributed by economic sectors and mobilizing voluntary support from the various classes of the people. On that basis, a more appropriate system of allowances can be established for students. The new system of allowances effective at the end of 1986 overcame the previous tendency toward averaging in allowances, stressing priority to appropriate recipients; but because the value of the allowance was too low, its actual

effectiveness was limited. We think that there must be a system of greater preference to students who are children of fallen veterans and a number of other beneficiaries in general school and in college. In addition to student allowances and other aid (possibly 5-10 times as large as the allowances), these students could receive health insurance and free transportation, preference for receipt of counselling, and assurance for receipt of sufficient school supplies. This is the only way to stop preferences from lowering standards of education unfavorably and in many ways.

Our party has always promoted a completely correct line: that the scientific and technical revolution is key to the overall task of building socialism. Yet there is a great distance between the point at which a policy is set and that at which the routines of daily life are established. In this situation, improvement of the quality of education for scientific and technical cadres in colleges and specialized schools at all levels and providing for the capability for maximum utilization of the intelligence and skill of the state are concrete, practical tasks enormously important in their contribution to the scientific and technical revolution and decisive in the future of the state.

9830

CSO: 4209/499

DECLINING QUALITY OF GENERAL SCHOOL EDUCATION CRITICIZED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 5 May 87 pp 1, 2

[Article by Chu Xuan Thanh: "On the Quality of Middle-Level General School Education at the Present Time"]

[Text] The 86-87 school year is about to end, and a concern of the party organization and people in the city at the present time is that the quality of general education is continuing to decline. In this article, I wish to touch upon the cultural quality of middle-level general school students in our city.

The cultural quality of students is evaluated by scoring individual subjects and rating the combined result based on the results of all subjects to attain five categories: excellent, good, average, weak and substandard.

The quality of individual subjects has also declined, with three subjects of a "basic tool" nature as an example, literature, mathematics and foreign languages: statistics indicate that 34 percent of the students score below average in literature, 31 percent score below average in mathematics, and 26.5 percent are below average in foreign languages. In a combined evaluation and classification, weak and substandard students make up 37 percent, including 19 percent in the substandard category. If these students are still classified as substandard at the end of this school year, they cannot be promoted to their next grade and will not be able to participate in middle-level general school graduation exams.

Why are there so many weak and substandard students? It is first of all the responsibility of the school and the teachers. However, a deeper look is necessary to see how that responsibility is implemented. What are the circumstances? During an inspection of eight middle-level general schools during the first semester, we noticed that many teachers set aside an extremely small amount of time for lesson preparations. Nearly all the teachers must work a second job to make a living. Teaching naturally becomes a "secondary occupation." Supplementary and private tutoring is no longer to help the substandard student as before but is also a "secondary occupation." There are also a great many teachers who strive and are concerned for good teaching hours because of their conscience and responsibility, but human strength is limited and the time spent worrying about "other jobs" is much greater than that spent worrying about teaching hours and although they wish

to, they are unable to do so. If the quality of teaching is not good, how can the students be good?

On the part of the students, how is their study? Many schools have complained that the number of students lacking study diligence is steadily rising. The number of substandard students is primarily due to laziness and to the fact that they were unable to grasp basic knowledge in the lower grades. Many of the subjects requiring a firm grasp of knowledge in the lower grades such as literature, mathematics, physics, chemistry and foreign languages, they have almost completely "forgotten!"

A phenomenon currently spreading among the students is that they appear to be studying diligently--outside of school hours at the school with a majority engaging in additional study. Some attend five morning periods with teachers in class, and in additional afternoon and evening sessions, continue to "listen to lectures" and take notes on everything! When do they have time for "self-study"? They study from one "shortcut" to another in hopes of slipping into college. Their race to enter college is excessively fierce and also crowded! Many "study to be studying," knowing that additional study has no benefit at all, but continue to "plunge in" to avoid the disappointment of failing the college examination! Does every case of additional study cause cultural quality to increase? We would like some opinions from the students and their parents.

Other objective reasons such as material facilities, classrooms, school supplies, textbooks, etc., and the difficult lives of families with many children and those of poor laborers have also "partially contributed" to the decline in cultural quality.

Overcoming the decline in cultural quality cannot be accomplished in 1 or 2 days nor can it be permitted to further decline. We think that those things that can be done must be done immediately.

First of all, is it possible for the state and people to give concern for the teacher to make a sufficient living by his "primary occupation" of teaching? Besides funds supplied by the state, the people are presently contributing many funds to the schools. The city must stipulate this contribution in a fair and rational manner. With nearly 1 million general school students, this contribution is surely not small. The city must also stipulate the contribution of the economic sector to education, not permitting a situation of giving only when one wants to give. Some people have asked us, "Why don't you in the education sector take care of your livelihood yourselves?" Actually at the present time, many schools have relied on the assistance of the people to organize production labor. However, a "teacher" is not an "economist." For everyone to engage in economic work is truly uncommon.

The city must give more and better concern to the entry of students to normal schools with encouragement of excellent students; for example, providing scholarships to twice the number of students of other schools; and providing normal school students board, room and sufficient funds for recreation and study aids in order to achieve total education. Without training, in the next several years, not many excellent teachers will be available, and without

excellent teachers, no hope will exist that the study quality of students will rise!

A projection is necessary of rational educational development consistent with the capabilities of the city's national economy. Concern must be given first of all to Level-I students, to Level-I teachers, and to Level-I teaching and study because this is the foundation for advancement to Levels II and III. Even in Level I, there are still too many substandard students with this year alone up to 13,900 "denied promotion" from Level I. Why for many years now have a number of wards and districts still not abolished teaching in three shifts in one classroom? With small children studying during the hot midday, how can there be quality? To the present time, only 69 percent of students of school age finish Level I. Level I cannot be made universal in such a situation. Development of a middle-level general school education is not just for "Where will they go if they don't rise to Level III?" but for the training of good laborers for socialism. It is entirely possible for students 15, 16 and 17 years old (the ages for entering the 10th grade) to simultaneously learn a trade and engage in formal study in order to finish the general education level by many routes. A policy is necessary to encourage expansion of occupational teaching for students, private operators, scientific and technical associations, occupational education centers and colleges oriented toward those trades supporting achievement of the three economic programs set forth by the Sixth Party Congress. If a location for learning a trade exists and a job after study is ensured, surely the 12th grade students will not race down the road to the crowded colleges, and those finishing the 9th grade will not simply want to enter the 10th grade as at the present time. Annually, we must invest in the enrollment of 25,000 to 26,000 students in the 10th grade but 3 years later, only about half graduate from middle-level general schools, truly an incalculable waste.

7500

CSO: 4209/498

HOSPITAL FEE POLICY SYSTEMATIZATION URGED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 21 May 67 pp 1, 2

[Article by Quoc Ke: "Hospital Fees, A Way to Raise Treatment Quality"]

[Text] Many readers have recently complained to SAIGON GIAI PHONG that, "When you get sick now, it's very tough! While you're lying in the hospital, everything costs money." More specifically, a reader from Dong Thap sent a "present" to the paper of a bill for hospital fees that totalled nearly 20,000 dong. "With the wages of a cadre, worker and civil servant like mine," he stated, "This amount of money is a load that is not easy to bear."

The case of the reader above is not extraordinary or surprising. Actually, it is a realistic expression of the treatment situation which has always been affected by many both rational and irrational social policies.

Treatment Entirely Free of Charge: A Dream With Insufficient Factors for Achievement

With anxiety in economic guidance, we have had to pay fairly high prices. Mistakes in the economy will naturally affect a series of other areas and medicine is one.

After liberation, a longing to immediately accomplish truly fine things to compensate our people for their long and bitter suffering during the war caused us to set forth a policy of free medical treatment. Reality--very quickly--indicated that not everything good could be accomplished immediately. The costs to maintain one hospital bed per year rose from 3,500 to 7,000 and then 18,000 dong, then through the up and downs of money and prices, to the present 45,000 dong. Despite such an increase, to answer the actual treatment requirements of the people, all of the city's hospitals have acknowledged that these charges are only enough for a maximum of 6 months operations. Hospitals cannot close their doors and cease operations but costs cannot continue to rise because, from our position, public health costs have occupied a fairly large portion of the state budget. The public health sector no longer has any other choice. Hospital fees, public health fees and assistance fees are many different ways of addressing the same problem: appealing to the people to participate with the sector in maintaining the quality of treatment.

This means, whether we like it or not, that collection of money for medical treatment is something that cannot be dispensed with during the present situation. The problem is how to collect and to collect from whom.

Hospital Fee Collection in the City

From two pilot project hospitals (An Binh and Nguyen Tri Phuong) in 1985, all of the city's hospitals are now collecting hospital fees in bills for drugs, food, administrative and management charges (electricity, water, stationery, etc.), x-ray film, etc.

Originating with the reality of income differences, the hospitals are collecting from those outside the range of policy families, cadres, workers and civil servants, and poor families with confirmation from their local area. In exchanges with responsible individuals in many hospitals, we learned that if the hospital ensures the quality of treatment (attitude, service and professional abilities), the patient is prepared to cooperate. Specifically, compared with the municipal public health budget during 1986 of 338 million, the hospitals collected an additional 32 million to further supplement the operations budget by nearly one-tenth. Absolutely none of the money collected was deposited in the state fund and all was reserved for full use by the public health sector. In Children's Hospitals 1 and 2, in respect for the future generation, the families of sick children must pay special treatment fees, if they are necessary.

On the other hand, while conducting experimental collection of fees at An Binh and Nguyen Tri Phuong hospitals, many people thought that patients would "run away" from these two locations. What actually happened was entirely different: the number of people requesting treatment rose and no one fled from the hospital when fees were collected. These details show that patients truly have a need for thorough care and are prepared to cooperate when they recognize that thoroughness (In making this statement, we do not mean that one must have money before care is received. There is a different meaning: that the patient is free to choose a physician he trusts).

What is the Best Mechanism for Collecting Hospital Fees?

As explained, hospital fees are an unavoidable route during the present socioeconomic situation. However, it must be clearly recognized that a sector policy does not simply have an effect within that sector. Thus, public announcement and institutionalization of the hospital fee policy are necessary. We believe that the present charges are reasonable. The first reasonable aspect is that they do not exceed the capabilities of the patient, and the second is that they only supplement and further compensate state expenses (if accurately and fully calculated, the amount of money will be extremely high, not like the present time) that one receives.

One additional problem is that objectives must be unified, not arbitrary as at the present time. They should be based on actual income capability with the participation and evaluation of the local administration because one may be a worker for example but a worker from one sector would have a different actual income than one from another sector. Proper participation of the local

administration will have extremely great significance. It will assist patients by better recording and following pathology and reduction waivers due to familiarity and official function.

On the other hand, according to recent statistics, about 30 percent of the patients in city hospitals are residents of the provinces. This would be entirely reasonable if there was an adjustment of the public health budget between localities. The reader in Dong Thap (at the beginning of the article) has a provincial patient status so the hospital should collect fully. We believe that the budget should be adjusted further between the municipal and provincial levels than leaving it to the concern of the hospital.

Additionally, there is another fairly large expenditure that could possibly assist the public health sector. These are the social insurance and welfare funds scattered among agencies and units. From our position, these funds are usually not used fully or are often used for travel for pleasure to Vung Tau, Da Lat, etc. Allowing workers to take pleasure trips from the common fund is something to be encouraged but under the conditions of our country at the present time, should we allow workers to take free pleasure trips and then take money from their pockets for hospital treatment?

The collection of hospital fees is not to improve the living conditions of physicians not is it for the state to have an additional source of revenue. The collection of hospital fees is primarily to support the quality of treatment which has always been threatened by current socioeconomic difficulties.

In writing this article, we have given attention to one condition, presented a number of factors that have appeared in the reality of hospital treatment, and hope that readers will contribute their opinions and look at proposals made to state authorities to examine and decide on an appropriate system.

7300

CSO: 4209/498

ILLEGAL USE OF ELECTRICITY DECRIED

Hanoi HANOI MOI in Vietnamese 6 May 87 p 3

[Article by Quang Cat: "About A Case of Controlling Electricity—Additional Transformers Cannot Prevent Overload—Large-Size Electric Wires Continue to Burn Up—All Households Undergoing Control Are Found Violating Regulations—32 Households Use In 1 Day What 122 Households Use In 1 Month"]

[Text] Currently, the electric supply is not stable. During last year's end and this year's first quarter, it was moderately satisfactory. Recently, it has shrunk to 75 percent. As a result, from round-the-clock use Hanoi City has moved back to daytime cuts and occasional nighttime rotating cuts. Stifling summer days have already begun, adding difficulties to living conditions and production. Factories were shut down by electricity shortages. Residential areas were forced to go through hot days and even lightless nights—a situation that affects people's livelihood and health.

However, there are in the city those who use state electricity wastefully and move heaven and earth to steal even more. Not only do they use electricity for free, but they also damage the state and people heavily, burning up transformers and power lines and causing outages in residential areas. Furthermore, whenever power was lost, some people acting simultaneously as a policeman and a thief, insulted and threatened electric workers doing their job. Due to overload, a worker was ordered to cut power to protect the electric network. He was then beaten up savagely by a group of evildoers. The case was brought to trial. Following a recent outage, some people in Chuong Duong area turned up at the Hoan Kiem branch of the municipal electric service in protest. That prompted the ward people's committee, electric service branch, and ward public security to look into the situation to pinpoint the causes for the outages and assess the use of electricity by the local people.

In 1984, there were only two transformers—a 200 KVA and a 314 KVA. Additional transformers—315, 240, 160, and 320 KVA—were subsequently installed, raising the total to 1,113 KVA. That means people could safely use electricity well above the average—5 times above the norms for a population of 1,000 households. More electric lines were also installed. In the past, there was one M-50 line. There are now two lines—Al80 and M95—which are 3-4 times larger. Despite the upgrading effort, overload still took place,

burning up power lines or activating automatic circuit breakers continuously. All 32 households investigated by a control unit were found violating regulations on the use of electricity—getting power directly from street lines and bypassing electric meters, using electricity during peak hours, and cooking bran for hogs on high-capacity heating ranges. The control unit confiscated 39 portable ranges, including a device using a coil measuring 2 millimeters in diameter with a capacity of 3,500 watts. This range alone consumes 5,040 dong worth of electricity a month for 8 hours of use per day. Illegal users consumed in a day what 122 households normally did in a month. Before inspection, the area was dimly lit and television sets could not operate. Following inspection, it was resplendent with lights.

On the evening of 27 April, the subward wire radio read off a list of violators and urged everyone to use electricity according to regulations. The call, however, did not work. At another residential area in the subward, the control unit seized an additional 11 heating ranges while households were found bypassing power meters and using electricity during peak hours.

Illegal use of electricity has shown signs of expanding, due partly to remiss management and lack of control. Energy thefts were usually unimportant in places where management was effective and installation work was technically adequate. Erratic use took place more often in collective housing areas and on the city's outskirts where power lines crisscross. In Chuong Duong Subward, about 5 households now share a power meter—compared with 20 households in the past; however, nearly all households there use electricity illegally. The subward people's committee chairman and vice chairman promised to band together with the electric branch and subward public security to manage electric supply better and stop thefts and illegal uses. With the return of summer and the awareness that more difficulties in electric supply are coming, the people hope that the electric service and its branches will distribute power equitably and rationally.

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READER CRITICIZES FRAUDULENT HOUSING PRACTICES

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 5 May 87 p 2

[Article by Truong Van Dang, Subward 14, Tan Binh, under Rubric 'Readers' column': "Simultaneous State Subsidization and Corruption! Must be Quickly Eliminated"]

[Text] Our party and people severely condemn bureaucratism and state subsidization because they are no longer a motive force for social development. They are instead obstacles and the cause of many negative occurrences.

In life however, there are many strange tales, concerning both elimination and protection, "elimination" for one individual and "protection" for another. The time has come for a synchronized reexamination of many social policies to see what things must be eliminated, corrected or supplemented, including the policies of repairing and fixing the prices of houses being sold to cadres, workers, civil servants and laborers. The policy of fixing the prices of houses being resold to cadres, workers, civil servants and laborers is proper and rational. It has an effective role in maintaining and strengthening dilapidated and deteriorating housing in the city, both to collect a small amount of money for the budget and to use in constructing additional new houses for cadres, workers, civil servants and laborers. However, it is difficult to understand why such a proper policy is being organized and implemented so slowly and carried out in a such piecemeal fashion that will surely create many negative occurrences in this problem.

While the state has had a policy of "selling like giving away," a number of cadres who are not poor and have no lack of color TV sets, cassette players and Honda cub motorcycles still figure additional losses and deficits and prepare schemes to further gouge the state budget. Their greed causes them to be dissatisfied with that "sell like giving away" policy of the state. Some have submitted requests for fixing the price of their house but then withdrew those requests and in their place submitted others for house repair. They wait for the state to complete the repairs and only then do they request that the price be fixed. They have made careful calculations; if the price is fixed, they must pay about 100,000 dong--while the state has spent not less than 500,000 dong on the repairs.

Please alert the Municipal People's Committee, the people's committees of precincts and districts, and inspection agencies with a suggestion for an investigation and other methods to immediately halt this practice to prevent the state budget from being gouged by speculators.

At a time in which we are condemning the policy of "state subsidization" here is both state subsidization and corruption being openly conducted. We propose that:

1. People's committees at all levels reexamine all requests for housing repair. Repair should be done only on those houses for which the state is not going to fix the price.
2. If the price is fixed later, the repair funds must be returned in full to the state, with no exceptions or reductions in this portion.
3. When houses are to have their price fixed, cadres should be told to do the repairs themselves with no calculation by the state later of the repair costs when the price is fixed.

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EXISTENCE OF OPIUM DENS IN HANOI REPORTED

Hanoi TIEN PHONG in Vietnamese 12-18 May 87 p 3

[Article by Xuan Ba: "'Brown Angel' Dens"]

[Text] The modest house of about 8 sq m was hidden behind a rather imposing restaurant on a street with many large shade trees. However, the "two component parts" of that enterprise were one and the same. In contrast to many other restaurants, the music coming from the two big speakers in the corner of a room was soft and pleasing, not noisy and raucous. The proprietor, a young woman of about 35 or 36, appeared graceful and pleasant in her thin house dress. She smiled broadly as she showed her guest to his seat. I'm certain that that enchanting smile was for my friend, who was a regular customer. In an instant, two cups of steaming cafe au lait (which my friend customarily called "brown") were placed side-by-side in front of us, accompanied by a pack of fragrant cigarettes. The scent of perfume wafted gently around the room. Everything seemed remote from the stifling atmosphere on the outside. After I had taken a few sips I saw a sad-looking person emerge from the inner house, then another. My friend, a true expert and a valuable "adviser" to me in those arcane matters, winked and asked, "Do you still remember the poem of Vu Hoang Chuong? 'There is an angel with brown rouge who looks at me with appealing eyes.' Those people have just been to see the brown angel!" I was startled and called out just loudly enough for the two of us to hear, "opium?" My friend held up a hand and interrupted, "Be careful! I don't smoke opium but know a few dens!"

Opium smoking! The evil left over from the time when Hanoi was still writhing under the country-stealing heel of the French colonialists and the heroin and marijuana addiction of the U.S.-puppet regime had apparently reemerged in Hanoi. Noting my stupefied reaction, my friend smiled and asked the young woman, "Is he at home today?"

The young woman, still wearing the enchanting smile, responded, "He is, but..." Clearly, that evasive reply was aimed at me but my friend smiled broadly and said, "It's O.K., he's my father!" Then he signalled for me to drink the rest of the cup of coffee and led me into the house, the one about 8 sq m in area, behind the restaurant.

That day was long ago, but I still remember my sadness when I stepped into that stinking, dark room. It was nearly the end of spring but a man about 60

years old lay wrapped in a grey blanket, his hair dishevelled, smoking an opium pipe. When he heard the door creaking he looked around, but seeing that it was someone he knew he nodded his head in greeting, then went about his business. Two youths about 27 years old lay back-to-back. Each of them was smoking an opium pipe. Every time they finished a pipe they would raise a hand to signal a middle-aged man with a thick black beard to pour hot water into an opium pipe. After an pleasurable sigh they would again lie down and continue to smoke. In contrast to the smoke of cigarettes or water-bottle tobacco, the smoke emerging from their nostrils was a very strange blue color. Around them lay tubes full of opium (which had been melted so that it would fit into the tubes, a box containing the opium, and the first, second, and third pipes. My friend, who appeared to be expert regarding opium smoking, told the proprietor to lay down so that he could prepare a pipe for him, but he laughed loudly and refused, "The morning has passed and noon has not yet arrived. If you're free tonight you may prepare a pipe for me. For some time now I've had to have three, pipes a day. You still aren't addicted! Youths like you are unusual!"

In the dazzling light of the noonday sun, while merging into the bustling stream of traffic on the street, I happily breathed in the pure air and couldn't believe that I had just stumbled into a den of the terrible "brown angel!"

"Why don't the local subward governmental administration and public security police know about that?" Responding to my question, my friend said straightforwardly, "That happened several years ago and practically the whole subward knew about it. The subward public security police confiscated all of Mr T.S.'s paraphernalia, but somehow he always managed to replace them. They even put together a dossier and sent it to the organs responsible for arranging for the "proprietor" to undergo reform training, but somehow he continued to remain at home with his two wives. I've heard he had just married a third wife who was still young and pretty. His house was on H.B. Street. I also don't understand how he obtained the money to keep three wives, a flock of children, and three opium pipes a day. Three opium pipes a day, and nowadays one pipe costs at least 50 dong. Do you know how? He also deals in opium. The people we met were his regular opium customers. Once they become addicted they only thing they can do is let him tie their necks to an opium pipe. Although my friend knew about such things, he did not sympathize with the way of life of his old "friend." He whispered and said in a bantering way, "Alas! Opium addiction!" His grandfather had been a Confucian scholar who had ruined his career because of his addiction. His grandmother apparently once told her husband to teach four water buffaloes how to use opium pipes! Her husband thought that his wife was being sarcastic and paid no attention. But then his grandfather, who had been wealthy, lost everything. As for his children, one of them continued on in the tradition of his father and opened an opium den to make money.

Unfortunately, when I related those things to the local subward public security police they acknowledged that they were all true. My friend regretted the misfortune of Mr T.S. and was worried that his children would find it difficult to go straight. The comrades of the public security police and the people of the subprecinct are worried about a greater problem: the

increasingly larger number of youths who try opium smoking, become addicted, and then commit crimes. Let us begin with the youth Q in the subward. He was young and healthy and had a proper job. Once Q lost his girlfriend and his family and friends did not pay attention to him and encourage him. While he was still depressed, a bad friend took him to smoke opium at the house of T.S. "The first pipe was bitter and the smoke was putrid. When he smoked the second pipe the smoke made his eyes sting and his stomach felt as if he was drinking thick tea. But then he felt a sense of relief. After 3 consecutive days of smoking opium he felt bad if he didn't have opium to smoke. By smoking in that way he became increasingly addicted. Q quit his job and made money on the outside so that he could indulge in opium smoking. He couldn't make enough money. Q became a thief and was convicted twice. His health deteriorated rapidly because of his addiction. By the time Q regretted his addiction it was too late. The young craftsman Th., from Ngo Quynh in Hai Ba Trung Ward, was also depressed because he had been defeated, and allowed bad people to pull him into addiction. Once he became addicted there was no way out. Th. quit his job and was persuaded to "earn his living on the outside." Th. gradually became a professional pick-pocket at Troi market. Every day he had to smoke two opium pipes, otherwise he couldn't stand it! At another opium den in Hue the public security police of Thinh Yen Subprecinct caught a 13 year-old who didn't smoke but who for years had the job of buying several pipes a day and bringing them back for his mother! His mother, a peddler, was nothing but skin and bones because of her addiction. Who dares be certain that that youth will in the future become a good citizen, when every time his mother lays smoking he sits preparing the opium and breathes in the smoke.

I suddenly remembered the lizards on the yellow walls of a certain opium den. They were strangely unafraid of people: if you tried to drive them away they refused to run. My friend concluded that "They are addicted to opium! Animals are just like us!" According to preliminary statistics, in Hai Ba Trung Ward there are 10 opium dens operating surreptitiously. There are also hidden opium dens in the outskirts of the city, such as the den of Mr S in Thanh Luong Subward and restaurant T in Tuong Mai Subward. The local public security police and governmental administrations know about them and have raided them many times, but they spring up again like mushrooms. It is regrettable that among the "customers" who regularly visit the opium dens some are elegant, such as T.S. and N., one is the son of the director of an Academy of Sciences Institute, one is the son of the head of the Ministry of L, one is the son of a vice minister, etc. In such wards as Hoan Kiem, Dong Da, and Ba Dinh similar opium dens have appeared.

Although their number are not large, there have appeared in Hanoi nests of poison and other negative phenomena, such as gambling dens, which we have not been able to completely eliminate and which have corrupted a number of youths. The time has come when the responsible organs in the municipality must resolutely eliminate opium dens, those poisonous nests. In addition to destroying the dens and strictly punishing their owners, it is necessary to rapidly track down the opium dealers, people who help the bad elements.

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END TO GAMBLING URGED

Hanoi HANOI MOI in Vietnamese 22 Apr 87 p 2

[Article: "We Should Put An End to Gambling, A Source of Crime; Nearly One-Third of Gamblers Caught Red Handed in Hoan Kiem Ward Are Cadres, Students"]

[Text] In our city, an abnormal situation has prevailed--gambling for money. The vice has threatened to expand and is a notable source of crime.

Since the beginning of this year, Hoan Kiem Ward public security has arrested many gambling cases and has eliminated gambling haunts on the streets and in people's homes. Some offenses of a serious professional nature were put on trial according to the law. Over 100 gamblers domiciled in Hoan Kiem Ward were brought before the local people for criticism and education. In just two waves of raids in January and March this year, Hoan Kiem authorities arrested 158 cases with 480 caught red-handed, seizing nearly 500,000 dong as court evidence. In one instance, over 300,000 dong were seized at the game table.

Of 480 gamblers caught in flagrant delicto, 235 were able-bodied but unemployed. Many of them were convicted, or had brushes with the law in the past as thieves or gamblers. It should be noted that, at the time of arrest, 129 persons--nearly one-third of the total--were cadres and workers, and that 27 were young students.

Recidivism involved many offenders, leading to serious thievery. An offender maintained a gambling den where he also worked as a pawn broker for gamblers. Crimes often followed a gambling session. Items:

--At a gambling den owned by Nguyen Tien Manh in Cau Go Street, Tran Kim Son (domiciled at 291 Khan Thien Street) won but decided to go home early. Other gamblers beat him up and broke his teeth in an attempt to recover their money. Following the scuffle, Son made a false statement to subward public security that he was mugged on the slope of Chuong Duong Bridge.

--After losing, Nyugen Van Duyen (domiciled in Phat Loc Alley) stole a bicycle in front of House No 85, Hang Ga Street.

—After losing, Le Ngoc Duc, Nguyen Duc Hanh, and Phan Ngoc Luu who all lived in Phat Loc Alley, broke into House No 22, Nguyen Sieu Street, to steal a bicycle.

—While gambling on the pavement of Ngo Gach Street, Loi, Than, Hien, Chinh, and Ha were threatened by knife-toting Le Van Dung, Dang Minh Tam, and Nguyen Van Phuc, who ran off with 15,000 dong.

—An enterprise worker, Nguyen X (domiciled in Hang Thung Street) lost at a gambling session, pawned out his property, and fell foul of his family. He then harmed himself by using a knife to cut two phalanges of his little finger.

Gambling for money is not only an offense and a source of crimes, but is also an aspect of the enemy's plot of creating a multiform war of sabotage. In their strategy of destroying our people, they take advantage of destroying our people, they take advantage of unhealthy lifestyles to revive social vices and stimulate criminal activities.

To contribute to putting an end to gambling and thwarting a source of crime at the roots, various echelons, sectors, and mass organizations should urge cadres, members of the youth and women's unions and mass organizations and the people to raise their sense of responsibility and political awareness to prevent gambling in units, on the streets, and at home and to expose gambling dens in due time and to coordinate with the security forces to attack and arrest promptly all forms of gambling.

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